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MEMOIRS

OF

THE INSURRECTION IN SCOTLAND IN 1715.

BY JOHN, MASTER OF SINCLAIR.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT IN THE POSSESSION OF THE EARL OF ROSSLYN.

WITH NOTES,

BY SIR WALTER SCOTT, BART.

PRINTED AT EDINBURGH:

M.DCCC.LVIII. 1858

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At an Adjourned Meeting of the Committee of The Abbotsford Club, *held at Edinburgh on the 9th of December* 1856—

Mr Macknight, Treasurer, reported to the Meeting that having applied to The Right Honourable The Earl of Rosslyn for the use of the Manuscript Memoirs of John, Master of Sinclair, his Lordship had in the handsomest manner consented to its publication by the Club, and, along with a fair Transcript, had sent the original Manuscript to Edinburgh.

Having likewise applied through Isaac Bayley, Esq., to Mr Hope Scott of Abbotsford, for the use of the Transcript of the same Work, prepared for the Press, with Notes, by Sir Walter Scott, this application had been equally successful, and that the Club were now in a position to proceed, under the most favourable circumstances, with the publication of this long desired and valuable Historical Work.

The Committee having heard this Report, unanimously resolved that the "Memoirs of the Insurrection in Scotland in 1715," by John, Master of Sinclair, be printed for the Members of The Abbotsford Club, under the joint superintendence of Mr Macknight and Mr Laing, from the original Manuscript, accompanied with Sir Walter Scott's Annotations, from the Manuscript at Abbotsford.

James Burn, *Chairman of the Meeting.*

PREFACE.

THE peculiar tone of asperity which characterizes the present MEMOIRS, and the freedom and severity with which the leaders of the Insurrection are treated, have hitherto induced the Family of the Noble Author to withhold their consent to their publication. But the period is now passed, during which any remarks, however satirical and harsh, could inflict pain on individuals or particular persons; and the reflections are directed against them almost exclusively in their capacity as actors in a great public and political movement; a position in which none can be considered exempt from liability to censure. Much indeed as has been whispered regarding the mysterious and unpleasant revelations contained in the present Work, it may safely be said that few Memoirs of the period will be found more free from personal scandal. The Author is apparently much more bent upon exposing the folly, treachery, and incapacity of the leaders of this unhappy Insurrection, than in recording their private vices and imperfections. With the exception of a few strong expressions and incidental remarks, the Work has no claim to be reckoned a scandalous chronicle; as even the poverty with which many parties are so bitterly taunted, had, according to the theory of the Author, a most important influence on their public conduct.

It must also be borne in mind that the character of no sharer in the Rebellion was more rudely assailed by invective and misrepresentation than that of THE MASTER OF SINCLAIR himself; and the present Memoirs were evidently composed for his own Vindication, and designed for publication expressly for that object. In these circumstances, the Memoirs have at last been given to the press by the permission of the Right Honourable THE EARL OF ROSSLYN, the present representative of the family, as a tardy act of justice to the memory of the Author; and every student of Scottish manners and character must feel grateful for the considerate liberality which has thus rendered accessible so curious and valuable an addition to the Historical Records of Scotland.

The autograph Manuscript of the Memoirs is preserved at Dysart House, and was entrusted by the EARL of ROSSLYN to the Editors for collation. They have

also to thank his Lordship for the use of an old transcript, which has proved of considerable utility. A third Manuscript has also been kindly entrusted by the Earl of Rosslyn to the Editors for collation; it is a carefully executed transcript in a modern hand, subdivided into paragraphs, but not in other respects requiring observation.

Sir Walter Scott was not only familiarly acquainted with the Work, and had printed extracts from it so early as in his Notes to the Lay of the Last Minstrel in 1805, but he had obtained a complete transcript of the Manuscript, with the intention of committing it to the press. For this purpose he had examined it with great care, and made Annotations and Observations with his own hand upon his copy, which is now preserved in the Library at Abbotsford; but his intentions were necessarily postponed, in compliance with the wishes of the family. The use of this Manuscript,[1] and permission to print the Notes of Sir Walter Scott, have been, in the most handsome manner, granted to the Members of The Abbotsford Club, by James R. Hope Scott, Esq. of Abbotsford.

The original Manuscript is written by the Author in a large, bold, and firm current hand, on loose folio sheets, but, owing to interlineations, deletions, and other accidental causes, a few words are occasionally indistinct. In such cases, and when there is any slight difference between the wording of Lord Rosslyn's copy and Sir Walter Scott's transcript, the reading of the Abbotsford Manuscript has been preferred. It may however be explained, that these difficulties do not frequently occur, and are of no real importance, so that the original text may be relied upon as printed with scrupulous accuracy. The Author's orthography has likewise been retained, with the exception of correcting a few palpable slips of the pen. Considerable difference of opinion may indeed exist as to the propriety of preserving such uncouth and barbarous misspellings as will frequently be found in the present Work. But, besides the guarantee for rigid adherence to the text, which the preservation of the Author's orthography always affords, the present Memoirs prove the Master to have been an accomplished Scholar,[2]

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[1] It may here be explained that Sir Walter Scott's MS. is written on small quarto paper, and bound in two volumes; the Annotations being made upon the margin of the pages, and occasionally on loose sheets of paper inserted in the proper places. The Life of The Master is prefixed to the first volume, and the Observations are inserted at the end of the second volume.

[2] The Master of Sinclair, in his numerous quotations from the Latin Classics, appears chiefly to have trusted to his memory, and occasionally has substituted synonymous words.

and well acquainted with Classical literature, so that his disregard of the orthography of his native tongue may be considered as forming a singular feature in the history of education. A marked peculiarity of the style is the almost invariable omission of the auxiliary verb, which has been supplied only in such instances as those in which the meaning is otherwise obscure. The words so supplied are printed within brackets; and, for the sake of ordinary readers, the narrative has been divided into paragraphs, and the Author's punctuation corrected.

The Notes and Observations by Sir WALTER SCOTT, it is scarcely necessary to remark, are particularly valuable. The substance indeed of much of his annotation will be found in his writings already printed; but there is still sufficient matter, either unprinted, or but little known, to render these annotations of interest in connexion with the name of their illustrious author. Sir Walter Scott's account of the Life of the Master originally appeared in a volume which he presented as a contribution to the ROXBURGHE CLUB, in 1828, and is but little known to the public. The volume is entitled "Proceedings in the Court-Martial held upon John, Master of Sinclair, Captain-Lieutenant in Preston's Regiment, for the Murder of Ensign Schaw of the same Regiment, and Captain Schaw of the Royals, 17th October 1708. With Correspondence respecting that transaction." Edinburgh, 1828, 4to.

Lord John Russell, when composing his "History of the Principal States of Europe, from the Peace of Utrecht," consulted a copy of the MS.; and Lord Mahon, when writing his History of England, had access to Sir Walter Scott's copy; and both of these Noble Authors have founded on, and quoted from it, as an undoubted authority; but it is obvious that in such Works the authors could not enter into the more minute and circumstantial details given in the Memoirs.

Thus, in the lines quoted at p. 255, from the commencement of book 2d of Lucretius, instead of *turbantibus*, he uses *agitantibus*, and transposes lines 5 and 6. In general, the quotations have been verified, and the passages and punctuation corrected according to recognized editions. In some places however it was thought preferable to allow them to remain as they occur in his Manuscript. Thus, at p. 57, the words quoted from Tacitus, (Ann. lib. vi, cap. 3,) should read "*Tibi summum rerum judicium Di dedere: nobis obsequii gloria relicta est.*" At p. 70, the passage attributed to Sallust, seems to be an adaptation from the second Oration of Cicero against Cataline, cap. 9. Again, at p. 252, three lines quoted from Statius's (in his Manuscript the name seems Placius) Thebaid, occur in lib. v, (ii, 88,) of the Silvæ.

In 1716 a curious Pamphlet was printed anonymously in London, bearing the following title:—"A True Account of the Proceedings at Perth, the Debates in the Secret Council there, and the Reasons and Causes of the suddain finishing and breaking up of the Rebellion. Written by a Rebel. London, printed for J. Baker, at the Black Boy, in Paternoster Row, 1716." 12mo.

This Pamphlet was reprinted in the second volume of the "Miscellany of the Spottiswoode Club." The Editor, James Maidment, Esq., introduces it with the following remarks:—"On the title-page of a copy of this scarce tract, in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates, has been written in pencil '*By the Master of Sinclair*;'[1] Indeed, the internal evidence is strong in favor of the claim put in for the Master, for it is written by a lukewarm Jacobite, and by one who held the Earl of Mar in supreme contempt. It concludes with the writer leaving the councils of the Chevalier, and proceeding to the North—facts which correspond exactly with the known history of the Master. Coming from the pen of this very remarkable person, an account of the confusion in the councils of the Chevalier becomes an important historical document; and although it is characterised by a dislike to Mar, and by a spirit of opposition to his orders, there can be little doubt that in substance the statements are generally correct. Undoubtedly, if the Prince had any thing like a chance of success, that chance was destroyed by the want of vigour and the incapacity of his General."

Notwithstanding the plausibility of the preceding facts and reasoning, it is clear that the Master was not the author of the Pamphlet in question. The style is essentially different, being totally devoid of the bitter satirical energy of the present Memoirs. The author employs the expression of "us Highlanders," while every line of the present Memoirs breathes dislike, if not contempt for the Celtic race. But, above all, the work in question is chiefly devoted to the narration of the events which took place subsequent to the Pretender's arrival in Perth, of all which the Author describes himself as having been an eye-witness; while the present Memoirs distinctly prove that the MASTER OF SINCLAIR had left Perth previous to the Pretender's arrival there, and never returned. Upon the whole, the "True Account" must be regarded as a contemporaneous authority, strongly corroborative, in every respect, of the authenticity of the present MEMOIRS; and as the Master's feelings must have been well understood, the similarity of sentiments would probably give rise to the report of his having been the Author.

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[1] Mr Robert Chambers, in his "History of the Rebellion in 1715," in "Constable's Miscellany," without hesitation assigns the authorship to the same person.

A Letter, giving an account of the Insurrection, subjoined to a History of Scotland, by Dr. Wallace, printed at Dublin in 1720, small quarto, may also be mentioned as strongly corroborative of the views contained in the present MEMOIRS. This Letter contains a short incidental notice of the Master's sister, Miss Catherine Sinclair.

The Introductory Remarks of SIR WALTER SCOTT, which are here printed, ought perhaps to supersede the necessity of further explanation, but the position of society, at the period to which these Memoirs relate, was in many respects so peculiar, that, at the risk of being considered presumptuous, a few Additional Remarks are submitted to the notice of the Reader.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE

BY

SIR WALTER SCOTT, BART.

THE following Memoirs were written by JOHN, MASTER OF SINCLAIR, eldest son of Henry, Seventh Lord Sinclair.[1] This gentleman was bred to a military life, and had a Lieutenant's commission in Preston's Regiment, in the army of the Duke of Marlborough. At the Battle of Wynendale he was accused by Ensign Hugh Schaw, of the same Regiment, for stooping down during the time of action. Sinclair challenged Schaw for this aspersion on his courage, but the other did not immediately accept his defiance, having gone to attend his brother, who had been mortally wounded before Lisle. Upon the . . . February 1707-8,[2] a casual rencounter took place between them, in which, after a few passes, Sinclair's sword was broken and Schaw's bent, but the last was mortally wounded. Captain Alexander Schaw, of the Royals, brother of the deceased, expressed himself with great acrimony of the mode in which Sinclair had conducted himself in this affair, and said openly that he had paper in his breast, against which his brother's sword was bent, before receiving the fatal wound. Upon the 13th of the same month of February the Master called Captain Schaw to account for these expressions, and after a short parley, shot him dead at the head of the regiment, Captain Schaw's hand being at the same time laid on his pistol. For these crimes the Master of Sinclair was tried by a general Court-Martial held in the British Camp at Rouseler, 17th October 1708. The Court found him guilty of

[1] [He was born on the 5th of December 1683.—ED.]

[2] [According to the Report of the Court Martial, printed by Sir Walter Scott, the date, it seems, should rather have been . . . September 1708.—ED.]

the breach of the 19th Article of War, and sentenced him to death. But, in consideration of the high provocation given to the prisoner by the deceased, they recommended him to the Queen's mercy. The case was, by the Duke of Marlborough, recommended to the consideration of the Queen's Council, who pronounced the slaughter of the brothers wilful murder. Sir John Schaw of Greenock, eldest brother of the deceased Captain and Ensign Schaws, followed up this doom with all the interest he could make with the Earl of Stair and others; so that the sentence must have been executed had not Sinclair escaped out of the Camp into the Prussian Dominions.[1] Notwithstanding the repeated instances[2] of Sir John Schaw (of whose solicitations I have copies, along with an attested copy of the Master's trial), the Master of Sinclair at length obtained the Queen's pardon upon the Tory Administration coming into power in 1712.

He seems to have remained at the family seat of Dysart, in Fife, until the Queen's death, when he engaged, rather it would seem from a principle of honour than any hearty liking to the scheme, in the Insurrection of 1715. Mar and Sinclair, it is plain, were upon the worst terms possible from the beginning of the affair; and the latter, with Huntly, soon placed himself at the head of those among the Insurgents who were for peace with the Government. This party became obnoxious to the more keen Jacobites, and were exposed to much popular odium. Sinclair's behaviour at the Battle of Sheriffmoor showed but a lukewarm interest in the cause. According to the best accounts of that singular engagement, had the cavalry which he commanded supported the charge of the Highlanders, all the left wing of Argyle's army must have been cut off. Hence, perhaps, the popular old song hath said that

> "Huntley and Sinclair
> They baith played the tinclair,
> With consciences black as a craw, man."

After the return of the Highland army to Perth, and the miscarriage of the enterprise became daily more manifest, Sinclair, as these pages inform

[1] Not without Marlborough's connivance. See Memoirs, p. 14. [*Infra*, p. 5.]

[2] ["Repeated instances," importunities.—ED.]

us, went from the army north to Strathbogie, and thence to Orkney, where, seizing a vessel, he escaped, with some of his companions in misfortune, to the Continent.

Being attainted for his share in the Rebellion, the Master of Sinclair remained abroad until 1726, when he obtained a pardon for his life, but which did not remit the other consequences of the attainder. Lord Sinclair, his father, who survived the Master several years,[1] to avoid the consequences of the forfeiture,[2] settled his estate on his second son,

[1] [This is an evident oversight: Henry, Lord Sinclair, died in March 1723.—Ed.]

[2] In the scrolls of two deeds which were given me by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, the disinheritance is ascribed to a different cause, the death, namely, of the Schaws; but as these deeds must have been dated after 1715, I presume that reason was only assigned to disguise the real purpose of eluding the forfeiture for treason. The first is draft of a deed by Lord Sinclair, setting forth that although the fee of the estate of Ravenscraig was settled upon his son John, Master of Sinclair, yet that the said fee was redeemable upon the granter making payment of a rose-noble, or four pounds Scots money, within St Geill's Church in Edinburgh, at the Earl of Murray's tomb; and that he, the granter, being resolved to exercise this faculty of redemption, did settle the fee of his estate upon James and William Sinclairs, his second and third sons, to the exclusion of the said John, Master of Sinclair. The second scroll is in the name of James and William Sinclairs, the disponees, who set forth therein that the true and real design of granting the said disposition and assignation in their favours, and not in favours of John, Master of Sinclair, their elder brother, was to prevent all inconvenience and hazard whatsumever which the rents of the said Lord Sinclair, his heritable estate, or his moveables, might be liable to if they were settled on the said Master's persone, on accompt of the said Master of St Clair his present circumstances, *by reason of unfortunate accidents that some years ago fell out abroad between the said Master and two sons of the deceast Sir John Schaw of Greenock*, (these words are added in margin,) therefore it was just and reasonable that they should grant a back bond of settlement, binding themselves to manage the property, when they should succeed to it, by advice of certain friends, overseers, and managers, viz.:—Sir John Erskine of Alva, Bart., Sir William Baird of Newbaith, Bart., Mr John Paterson, eldest lawful son to the deceast Archbishop of Glasgow, their brethren-in-law; Sir William Cockburne of that Ilk, Bart., and Mr Matthew Sinclair of Hermistoun, Doctor of Medecine, our uncles. This trust was granted for obliging them to account for the

General James Sinclair, who generously put his brother into possession of it upon his return to Scotland. The Master of Sinclair continued to reside at Dysart till his death in 1750. He seldom ventured to Edinburgh, and was then always well armed and attended, holding himself still in danger of the vengeance of the Schaws, or of other enemies.[1] He was twice married; 1*st*, to Lady Margaret Steward, daughter of James, Earl of Galloway, Countess Dowager of Southesque; 2*d*, to Emilia, daughter of Lord George Murray, brother of the Duke of Athole. There was no issue of either marriage. The Master died in 1750.[2]

The following Memoirs are written with great talent and peculiar satirical energy. They are intended as a justification of the Author's

rents of the estate, after certain necessary branches of expenditure to these trustees, for behoof of the Master. And James and William Sinclairs also bind themselves, in case the Master should become free of his present inconvenience, or should have lawful children, then, and in that case, to reconvey the estate to the said Master, or to his said children, at the sight of the said trustees. As General St Clair therefore only implemented a legal obligation, less need have been said about his fraternal generosity.

[1] [Sir Walter Scott, in the Roxburghe volume, has thus enlarged this notice:—"After his succession virtually, though not by name, to the family estate, the Master of Sinclair lived at Dysart in much retirement, and seldom visited Edinburgh. When he did cross the Frith he was always well armed and attended, for he seems to have accounted himself still in danger, either from the resentment of the Schaw family or because he was odious to the more zealous Jacobites, who considered him as having deserted the cause. On one of these rare occasions on which he crossed the Frith, the Master had a singular rencontre. As he wanted to hire what was then called a running footman, a foreigner was presented to him by his landlord as a candidate for his service. The lad only knew he was in presence of a Scottish gentleman of quality, the Master as usual preserving a species of incognito. He asked the man what specimen he had ever given of his activity, to which he received for answer,—'Sir, I ran beside the Master of Sinclair's horse when he rode post from the English camp to escape the death to which he was condemned for the murder of two brothers.' The Master, much shocked, was nearly taken ill on the spot."—Ed.]

[2] [On the 2d of November 1750, in the 67th year of his age.—Ed.]

own conduct; but are more successful in fixing a charge of folly and villany upon that of others than in exculpating his own. They will be a precious treat to the lovers of historical scandal, should they ever be made public. The original Memoirs, written by the hand of the Author, are in the library at Dysart. But there are other transcripts in private collections, though some, I understand, have been destroyed to gratify those whose ancestors fall under the lash of the Master. It is remarkable that the style, which at first is not even grammatical, becomes disengaged, correct, and spirited in the course of composition.

WALTER SCOTT.

Making every allowance for the prejudice and vehemence of The Master of Sinclair,[1] it is impossible not to concur with him in thinking that the whole management of Mar, from the beginning to the end of the Insurrection, was highly blameworthy.

His motive for availing himself of the general discontent which prevailed in Scotland at the time of the accession of the House of Hanover, seems only to have been disappointed ambition and mortified pride, when he found himself disgraced at the Court of Saint James's. As a mere political leader, he seems to have possessed very considerable talents, having eloquence, address, and power of influencing and persuading those around him. But these are not enough for military command, where promptitude, firmness, and sagacity are required. The same sound judgment which dictated to the Duke of Argyll a procrastinating and cautious train of operations, recommended to Mar vigour and decision. An established government always grows stronger, while an insurrection gradually becomes weaker, [as] its chiefs disagree, and its inferior members, unsupported by any regular system of finance, desert for subsistence, or render themselves detestable by plundering. It is vain to say that Mar

[1] [These additional remarks by Sir Walter Scott occur at the end of his Transcript, and are written evidently several years later than his Prefatory Notice.—Ed.]

waited for his distant reinforcements, for the success of a desultory army depends always more on the celerity of its motions than on its numerical force; and as success never fails to strengthen its numbers, so inactivity is sure to impair them. Forth is proverbially said to bridle the wild Highlander, but it did not bridle Charles in 1745, and ought not to have bridled Mar in 1715. Mar's own arrival at Perth should have been concerted with a movement of the Western Clans, Macdonalds, Camerons, Stuarts, &c.,—towards Aberfoil and the Heads of the Forth, which these ready soldiers could easily have seized, while the Duke of Argyle could hardly have marched towards them without exposing the Pass at Stirling Bridge to the insurgents, who, by passing a body of men at Mar's own town of Alloa in lighters, could have placed those left to defend the bridge betwixt two fires. If it had been judged necessary, the movement of the Western Clans might have been combined by a corresponding march of the insurgent cavalry, under Winton and Kenmore, towards the Lennox, and as far as Drymen. This would have been more judicious than their union with the handful of Northumberland fox-hunters, who seem never to have had any serious thoughts of fighting, and soon sickened of it. This might have been done with the utmost ease before Argyle's forces exceeded the number of 1500 men, which was his strength in the beginning of September. It is probable such a movement would have obliged the Duke of Argyle to have retired to Edinburgh, or perhaps to Berwick, and would have given opportunity to the numerous malcontents in the Lowlands to have joined the insurgents. This was still more recommended by the season of the year, when the harvest being in the fields, those difficulties of want of forage and provisions, afterwards alleged as the cause of Mar's inactivity, could not have existed. If it be alleged that Mar waited for foreign assistance, with which he so often flattered his followers, and without which there was no great wisdom in attempting an insurrection at all, he ought to have known that the successful negotiation of Stair, and his influence with the celebrated Cardinal Du Bois, whose authority over the mind of the Regent of France was unbounded, had entirely detached the latter from the Jacobite party.

When the insurgents did at length move they seem to have been

shamefully negligent of intelligence, and the Battle of Sheriffmuir was, on their part, a mere accident. They were drawn up with military skill, probably by General Gordon and Hamilton; but they did not act with sufficient promptitude, for those who command Highlanders should always secure the first attack. On the right they were successful, and it seems they ought also to have been so in the centre, had their cavalry attacked Wightman's infantry in flank, when it was exposed by the route of Whitham's horse and foot. This inactivity, for which the Master of Sinclair takes credit as a merit, is not ill described in some rude lines of the old ballad—"Oh! was ye at the Sheriffmuir," &c.

"Perth, Fyfe, and Angus, who were horse,
Stood motionless, and some did worse;
For though the red-coats went them cross,
They did conspire for to admire
Clans run and fire,
Left wings retire,
While rights entire
Pursue, man.

"But Scotland has not much to say
For such a fight as this is,
Where both did fight, both ran away,
The devil take the mess is."

On the other wing Argyle obtained a decisive advantage by out-flanking the Highlanders with his dragoons. But though he chased them to the Bridge [the Water] of Allan, they rallied so often, that it is observable pursuers and pursued were three hours in marching two miles, which looks more like a retreat than a disorderly flight, though many of the highest rank among the insurgents fled on the spur, and said all was lost. When this first blunder was committed, fate allowed Mar another cast for victory; for the Duke of Argyle, in returning from pursuit of the insurgents' right wing, with two regiments of dragoons and Whitham's [Wightman's] small body of infantry, in crossing the field of battle in order, passed under the advantageous position occupied by the victorious right of Mar's army; by their cavalry, and by such of their left wing as had rallied, the fight

might then have been renewed with every prospect of success, and the route of the Duke would have opened the passes to the Low Countries. This error of permitting Argyle, like civil gentlemen, to walk quietly on to Dumblane without a second struggle, says little for Mar's courage or for his capacity.

The Battle of Sheriffmuir being in a manner only half-foughten, left both parties as it found them, for neither had gained a decided victory. But, on the other hand, all the subsequent advantage remained with the Duke of Argyle, whose plan was to remain stationary; all the loss with the insurgents, whose interest it had long been to advance, and who having attempted such a movement, were again driven back to the inactivity of Perth.

After so disheartening a conclusion to their only offensive movement, it is no wonder that they began to despair, and it is only extraordinary that Mar should not have endeavoured to make some accommodation. Perhaps he was deterred by fear of being made the atoning victim; perhaps, having sent for the Chevalier Saint George, he deemed it necessary to wait the consequences of his presence. But it is certain, that during the whole affair he neither found, nor endeavoured to create any circumstance from which he could claim advantage to his arms. He was perhaps courtier enough to think that *de par le Roy* was as omnipotent in camps as in capitals.

While Mar [was] waiting for this cordial to a sinking cause, the divisions of his army became incurable. The Master of Sinclair's character may be gathered from his own Memoirs. The slaughter of the two Schaws, accompanied with some awkward circumstances of time and place, marked a fierce and vindictive disposition. He had been a trained soldier, and notwithstanding the contempt he pretends to have entertained for promotion, undoubtedly he felt hurt at seeing it disposed of to Marischal, Drummond, and others, in preference to himself. At Sheriffmuir he had been at the best but lukewarm. Whatever reality there might be for his despairing of the cause in which he had engaged, it is plain that he gave vent to his sentiments on that subject in a manner which might make matters [worse], but could hardly mend them. He seems also to

have been extremely opinionative, and whoever opposed him, if men of quality, were brutes, blockheads, and what seems to have, in his comprehension been worst of all, bankrupts; if of an inferior class, they are all little, dirty, mean, insignificant wretches; and the power of sarcastic vituperation which he displays in his Memoirs undoubtedly [did not] abandon him in conversation, and accordingly those of the opposite party seem not to have spared him in their turn. He is described in one of these songs as

> " The Master with the bully-face,
> And with the coward's heart, man,
> Who never missed, to his disgrace,
> To act the traitor's part, man,
> Did join Dunbog, the greatest knave
> In all the shire of Fyfe, man;
> Who was the first the cause to leave,
> By counsel of his wife, man."

With more talent than Huntly, and at the same time with less power and influence, the Master obtained the credit of being his adviser, and chief of the Mutineers, or, as they were called, of the Grumbling Club. He was very sensible of all this, and wrote *recentibus odiis*, which may [be] an apology for the savage ferocity with which he attacks not only Mar but Marischal and others.

At the same time, viewing the matter in general, we must return to the point we have set out from, that Mar, unconscious perhaps of the limits of his own talent, undertook a matter for which he was totally unfit. With a far less force than he had at his disposal Montrose gained eight victories, and overrun Scotland; with fewer numbers of Highlanders Dundee gained the Battle of Killiecrankie; and with about half the troops assembled at Perth, Charles Edward, in 1745, marched as far as Derby, and gained two victories over regular troops. But in 1715, by one of those misfortunes which dogged the Stewarts since the days of Robert II, they wanted a man of military talent just at the time when they possessed an unusual quantity of military means. If the armies had changed Generals, and some part of Ian Roy Cean's life made his adopt-

ing *t'other side* not quite impossible, he would, in all probability, have made himself master of Scotland within the month of September. But his quarrel with Bolingbroke, and probably his sense of the incapacity of the Court at Saint Germains, prevented the Duke from adopting a side of the question which his talents might have [rendered] formidable, but the success of which could only have brought new convulsions on the country.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

BY

THE EDITOR.

THE Military incapacity and want of energy displayed by Mar, it is acknowledged, rendered the Insurrection of 1715 abortive; and the result was, that the most numerous body of Highlanders ever assembled, dispersed without having added to those laurels so frequently obtained by smaller numbers of their countrymen. These facts have been sufficiently illustrated by all Writers on the period, and are so forcibly stated in the previous reflections of Sir WALTER SCOTT, as to render further comment superfluous. It must however be borne in mind, that Mar's forces were almost entirely composed of tumultuous and irregular levies, who, as a general rule, are not favorable to dilatory tactics, while in former times the Scottish military character was characterised by hasty operations and rashness, rather than by caution and inactivity.

It is quite impossible even to imagine that Mar was possessed of that strength of intellect and force of mind which alone enables a commander to bend masses of men, hastily and accidentally combined, to his sentiments, in opposition to their own. It therefore appears that the timidity and irresolution which marked the conduct of the insurgents during the whole of this inglorious insurrection must have arisen from some deeper and more wide-spread source than the personal character of their commander. Whether the following suggestions regarding the real causes of the inactivity of the Rebels, and their infatuated confidence in the future, be well or ill founded, must be decided by the Reader, and they are here with diffidence submitted to his consideration.

The Lowland gentlemen of Scotland, who formed so large a portion of the Rebel Army, were the lineal descendants of that fierce and turbulent

aristocracy whose stubborn and unyielding valour had preserved the freedom of their country during centuries of desperate and infuriated struggles for independence with their more wealthy and powerful neighbours of England; and whose swords indeed scarcely knew their scabbards, so constantly were they engaged either in foreign warfare or domestic feuds. The ancient Scottish Aristocracy were familiar with blood and carnage, and well accustomed to the hardships and self-denial so essential in actual warfare. Indeed the extreme hardiness of the mediæval Scot, and his great aptitude for long and rapid marches, as well as for nocturnal and fatiguing duty, form the theme of eulogium by foreign military writers to an extent which is by no means conceded in modern times to the present inhabitants of the country. Such armies, when assembled, seldom failed to rush, whether prudently or the reverse, into action, as the readiest and most decisive mode of bringing the campaign to a termination.

The Union of the Crowns however most materially altered the position of society with reference to the military habits of the people. The country became secure from all danger of English rapine and invasion; the increased power of Government gradually suppressed forcible resistance to its dictates; while the great Civil Wars, by withdrawing men's minds from the limited objects from which intestine discords in Scotland chiefly arose, together with the increase of knowledge and civilization, entirely extinguished the barbarous practice of deadly feuds in the Lowlands. But these inestimable blessings to society completely neutralized the benefit which a landed proprietor formerly derived from the martial character of his vassals. Habits and feelings which are not constantly called into action usually cease to exist, particularly among the lower orders. In this manner the resident aristocracy of Scotland lost all actual knowledge of war, and the peasantry both the practice and the spirit.

The legal power of enforcing military service from followers and vassals however remained in all its original stringency in 1715; and the aristocracy appear to have inherited to a great extent the warlike tendencies of their forefathers, the traditions of whose prowess they cherished with the fondest regard; a regard, even in that day, far from being unmingled with dislike to, if not contempt for, the organised and metho-

dical system which had long been introduced in regular armies. At the same time, the fact that the feudal organization had for nearly a century been little more than a theory, had totally destroyed all practical acquaintance with its working. While, as the smaller landed proprietors had, unless distinguished by very superior capacity, been long cut off from much active share in the political business and intrigues of the country, they had, as a race, lost much of the activity, sagacity, and presence of mind which so generally distinguished their ancestors. Thus the indomitable energy and fiery ambition which led the old Scottish Baron to spend his life in constant alternation between deadly combat and hazardous intrigues, was too frequently frittered away in little better than the excitement of the table, the hunting-ground, and the race-course. A gay, jovial, and *insouciant* race were the Scottish Lairds of the 1715, particularly those attached to the ancient dynasty; and, in discussing the prospects of the Restoration of the Stewarts over a bottle or punch-bowl, where such consultations were generally held, all difficulties vanished. The fumes of the generous liquor disclosed to their imaginations James the Eighth seated on his ancestral Throne, surrounded by many thousands as gay and triumphant as themselves; while the overmastered and discomfited Whigs and red coats stood by in sullen dejection; and it may be, for the blood yet ran dark in Scottish veins, that the gallows and scaffold, with its dismal concomitants of dripping axe and bloodstained saw-dust, were not always absent from these exciting visions.

What was the prevailing tendency of political feeling in Great Britain in those days, is still a controverted point which each author apparently decides in accordance with his own political predilections, however earnestly he may asseverate his desire to judge independently of them. To the Editor it appears that a careful and impartial examination of the historical records of the period justifies the conclusion that the number of men really prepared to hazard their lives and fortunes in the cause of the exiled family was comparatively few. At the same time, between the normal discontent with which a large portion of the inhabitants of Great Britain have generally entertained for whatever Government may exist at the time, and the actual leaning to the Stewarts, the favorers of

that race were in 1715 numerically more powerful, particularly in Scotland. In that country indeed the safety of the Revolutionary Settlement depended, not so much upon the number of its supporters, as upon the important fact that the Government possessed the allegiance of the great majority of the practical intelligence and business-talent of the country.

The discontent created among almost all classes by the Union, tended not a little to disseminate and increase the confidence of the Jacobites in their numerical strength and the ultimate ascendancy of their principles. To such an extent indeed do they appear to have cherished their hopes, that they confidently looked for success, not as the result of hard fought and toilsome campaigns and weary nights in the trench or bivouac, but in taking the field in numbers so overwhelming as to make a great military demonstration, sufficient either at once to overawe the Government into submission, or bring any military operations to a speedy and triumphant issue in their favor.

When, however, the Rebels had actually assembled in force at Perth, their numbers, respectable and imposing as, comparatively speaking, they were, yet fell far short of the sanguine expectations which had been formed, and upon the realization of which their prospects of success, if the preceding theory be correct, had been based. In these circumstances two courses presented themselves to their leaders. The one was, to make the most of the materials which they possessed, by taking every means to render the army as efficient as possible, and commence operations without loss of time; the other was, to await the arrival of further reinforcements, and thus render their strength equivalent to their preconceived opinions. Unfortunately for the cause and the military reputation of the Insurgents, the latter alternative was adopted; but it certainly appears to have been the one most agreeable to the great mass of the parties actually engaged, and, in order to ensure its success, a course of most wilful and deliberate misrepresentation concerning their prospects and numbers was put in practice by Mar and his confidants. When, however, it is borne in mind that the very belief in the truth of these statements, by inspiring confidence in the cause, would have tended materially to their fulfilment, perhaps it may not be necessary to brand these exaggerations, however gross, with the

high degree of moral turpitude which the Master of Sinclair attaches to them. In adhering to this system it was perhaps natural, although certainly most imprudent, rather to neglect the efficiency of the troops already in the field. In place therefore of being harassed with the irksome task of military training and organization, they were encouraged to spend their time in careless jollity and amusement till their forces should have increased to the overpowering numbers which they so confidently expected. So infatuated was Mar on this point, that even when their prospects were effectually crushed by the retrograde movement after the Battle of Sheriffmuir, he still seems to have clung to the hope that the presence of the Pretender would place the insurrection on a strong and commanding basis.

While these were the sentiments of the Lowland Jacobites, the Highlanders, although in many respects in a widely different position, were yet led, from causes incident to their own peculiarities, to entertain views entirely similar, in so far as warlike operations were concerned. This remarkable people were, even in 1715, regarded by the Lowlanders as a totally distinct race, who had, by inexplicable accidents, obtained extraordinary success in their engagements with regular troops, and were therefore to be considered as valuable auxiliaries in a military point of view, although their inveterate love of violence and haughty overbearing manners, rendered them objects of dislike, if not of secret dread.

Although the march of civilization and the progress of law had long succeeded in abolishing the feuds of clans in the Highlands, yet Highlanders still retained their martial spirit and clanish attachments. These feelings were, from motives of policy, encouraged and inculcated by their Chieftains with the greatest assiduity; and, from causes which it would be irrelevant to recapitulate, it may safely be asserted that at no period in history was the power and influence of the Chiefs over their followers greater than at the period now under discussion.

The majority of the able-bodied clansmen were thoroughly accustomed to the use of the broadsword and target, as well as that of the musquet and rifle, and all Highlanders still regarded war as their noblest occupation; while it is to be feared that too many had considerable practical

experience in the somewhat analogous employment of extensive depredations on their Lowland neighbours, in the course of which bloodshed was by no means unusual. From these causes it may safely be asserted that the Highlanders took the field as well fitted for their own peculiar system of warfare, as any well-disciplined and organized regiment after a long peace. The success of Highlanders against regular troops, ever since the great Civil Wars down to the Insurrection in 1745, has been most uniform and remarkable. It might have been expected that so singular a feature in military history would have excited some attention among tacticians and historians, but it has been passed over in silence; the admirers of the Celtic race attributing it to the romantic and superhuman valour with which they are pleased to endow them, while their detractors are contented with laying the blame on the cowardice of their adversaries, or ascribing their success to some of those unfortunate accidents which occasionally occur in war, and the causes of which it is alike impossible to investigate or prevent.

It would here be quite out of place to enter into any discussion as to the accuracy of these theories; but a careful examination of existing memoirs and correspondence clearly demonstrates that the Highlanders themselves placed no overweening confidence in their own valour, but acted upon a regular and recognised system, which, although independent of minute and technical rules, was capable of being easily understood and practised by men of courage and resolution. Several of the Highland Chiefs were undoubtedly men of sagacity and penetration, and they had observed that in modern warfare comparatively few musquet shots tell out of the number fired. From this they concluded, that in a fair field and no favor, it was quite possible for active and determined men to close with musqueteers; and when once in contact, their uniform experience had been that the musquet and bayonet were no match for the broadsword and target. The great activity of the Highlanders, in which they confessedly exceeded the regulars, was supposed to do more than compensate for their want of methodical training, while their superior skill as marksmen fully counterbalanced their irregularity in firing.

Upon these grounds, the Celtic leaders considered their forces as

decidedly superior to modern infantry; but they were equally sensible that on open ground their arms and training were inadequate to cope with efficient cavalry, and they had nothing whatever to oppose to the fatal power of artillery. Although, therefore, on many occasions they had obtained successes more or less marked against both cavalry and artillery, yet it seems much to their credit, as scientific soldiers, that they attributed these advantages solely to the accidental inefficiency of their opponents. Accordingly, in taking the field, they considered themselves as forming nothing more than the nucleus of an army; formidable, doubtless, in many respects, and capable of rendering a good account of much more than their own number of regular infantry, but unfitted to contend singly against the modern combination of infantry, cavalry, and artillery. It thus happened, that finding themselves unsupported by any considerable amount of cavalry and artillery, they readily acquiesced in Mar's desire to wait for further reinforcements of those powerful auxiliaries before commencing active operations, while their ardent and susceptible temperament rendered them, it is possible, too facile victims of that nobleman's exaggerations.

The Master of Sinclair seems, in this insurrection, to have stood almost alone in his feelings and sentiments. Regularly trained as a soldier in the desperate European wars of the period, he viewed with unmitigated, perhaps undue, contempt, both the raw levies of the Lowlands, and the irregular and undisciplined warriors of the Highlands. His sagacity and knowledge of the world easily enabled him to detect Mar's falsehoods and delusive exaggerations regarding the temper of the country, and the amount of support which could be anticipated. He also soon perceived that their only prospect of success was by making active use of the materials at their command, so as, if possible, to obtain some brilliant advantage which would probably have had the effect of inducing many waverers to declare themselves in favour of the Insurgents, and might also have induced the French Government to render them efficient co-operation. In order to accomplish this object, he seems to have been at first most strenuous and sincere in his efforts to organize the army, and render it as efficient and serviceable as circumstances would permit; but finding his efforts

thwarted, and a completely different system encouraged and pursued, he soon despaired of success, and became disgusted with his associates.

Sir Walter expresses his opinion that the Master in the present Memoirs is more successful in attacking the reputation of others than in vindicating his own, and of this the Reader must judge. It must however be admitted that the whole tone of the Memoirs most decidedly indicates a sincere, though not a blind, attachment to the cause of the Stewarts. At the same time they evince a haughty and unconciliatory temperament, which probably deprived his counsels of much of the influence which they might otherwise have possessed. But it is impossible to dispute the sagacity and foresight evinced in his opinions and reflections, tinctured as they are by prudence and caution, rather than daring and adventure. His conduct at Sheriffmuir is evidently, in Sir Walter's opinion, the great blot upon his escutcheon; and, referring to the present account of the engagement, it cannot be denied that a more enterprising officer might not have hesitated to undertake the duty abandoned by Huntly and Marischal's squadrons, and attacked General Wightman's division, whose unopposed movement to the right contributed so materially to the defeat of the Insurgents' left. But the temper of the Master was evidently cautious and methodical, shunning, rather than courting independent action; and it is besides extremely probable that, as stated by himself, the fact of his squadron's remaining unbroken upon the ground, alone prevented Whitham's Dragoons from rallying and destroying the victorious Highlanders when scattered and disordered by their success.

No account of the Battle of Sheriffmuir, so circumstantial and distinct as the present, is known by the Editor to exist; and from this account it appears that the success of the peculiar system of the Highlanders was never more marked and complete. In four minutes two thousand Highlanders, with the loss of only twenty-five men, defeated, in open field, and without advantage of ground on either side, an equal, if not superior, number of the tried veterans of the Duke of Marlborough's wars. The efficiency of the Highland broadsword as a weapon of destruction is described in language peculiarly forcible and characteristic. This coming from a trained and disciplined soldier, who candidly acknowledges that

he never believed that Highlanders would have endured the fire of regular troops, and elsewhere speaks most disparagingly of their general military character, entitles the Master to be cited as an unwilling witness, the most favourable of all testimonies, in support of Highland tactics and prowess.

It may here be remarked, that while the "rough rebuke," as the Master terms it, which the right of the Rebel army gave to the left of Argyle's, tended to confirm the confidence of the Highlanders in their system, and nerved their arms for Prestonpans and Falkirk, the rout of the left, however annoying in itself, was nothing unexpected, or contrary to their preconceived ideas; they were defeated by cavalry. They therefore only blamed the cowardice or misconduct of their Lowland allies or their Commander, who, with a respectable cavalry force in the field, abandoned the left wing entirely, and left it exposed to the onset of the Grey Dragoons.

After the victorious right wing of the Rebels, consisting of the Macdonalds, with Huntly's and Marischal's squadrons of cavalry, together with the Fife squadron led by the Master of Sinclair, had altered their front, they found themselves opposed to Argyle's troops, returning from their successful attack on the left of the Rebels. In this position both armies remained facing each other for a short time. The powers of invective have been exhausted in abusing Mar for his cowardice and incapacity in not attacking Argyle. Possibly these accusations may be just, more particularly with reference to the unmolested retreat which Argyle was permitted to make. But the question may be fairly asked,—Why did Argyle not attack Mar, the one being in command of regular, and the other of irregular forces? Argyle evidently hesitated to trust his tried and victorious infantry, aided as they were by most efficient cavalry, against Highlanders similarly supported. A greater compliment was never paid to irregular troops,—whether deservedly or not, it is now impossible to ascertain.

Perhaps it may be here permitted to add a few words regarding what has always been considered as the great fault of the old Highlanders, and which so completely annihilated the effect of their brilliant military

achievements, viz., their love of plunder, and proneness to abandon their standards. But, in extenuation, it must be borne in mind that the Highland idea of a soldier was that of the middle ages, which only called upon a man for service during a limited period in each year, and allowed him all the plunder he could seize as the legitimate and only reward of his valour. It thus seems rather too much to expect that Highlanders should have become indoctrinated with the modern ideas of military service, without the advantages which modern soldiers consider themselves entitled to receive. To have attached them to their standards by liberal pay and allowances was either never contemplated, or was rendered impracticable by circumstances. Mar indeed seems to have given the Highland Chiefs as much money as he could, but this was wholly insufficient to enable them to allow their followers more than a bare subsistence, unless their selfishness and cupidity induced them to appropriate too large a portion for themselves; and, in either view, the conduct of their followers should excite neither surprise nor disapprobation. We never heard of a soldier or officer, in modern times, who refused his share of prize-money, which is simply the old Highland idea of plunder; but a modern soldier would feel indignant at being accused of taking the field solely or principally on that account, which is the accusation so constantly and unjustly levelled at the Highland Clans.

The celebrated Rob Roy is mentioned more than once, as apparently too well known to require further observation; but it is much to be regretted that no description of his character and peculiarities is to be found among the graphic and forcible sketches given by the Master. The advantage which Rob Roy undoubtedly obtained over a party of the Government forces in Fife, sometime after the battle of Sheriffmuir, appears to be nowhere else recorded, and must now be added to the other exploits of that celebrated partizan and freebooter. The particulars of the rencontre are, it is to be feared, irrecoverably lost.[1] Rob's character, it is

[1] It is stated in the memoirs of his life that he went to Falkland with his followers after the Battle of Sheriffmuir, and plundered the country, but no allusion is made to any engagement with the Government forces.

well known, suffered much on the ground either of courage or sincerity for his conduct at Sheriffmuir, which is fully commented on by Sir Walter Scott; but, according to the account given in the present volume, it may be remarked that, along with a detachment of the Macphersons, he was stationed on a separate duty some miles from the field of battle, there being no intention of bringing them into action. In these circumstances, when called upon with his small force to stem the tide of innumerable fugitives, and attack victorious cavalry, his refusal seems in accordance with recognized military principles, and his memory ought thus to be rescued from the imputation of treachery or cowardice on this occasion.

It would be easy to extend these remarks to a much greater length; and many fertile subjects for annotation presented themselves during the course of the Work. But it was deemed, upon the whole, most suitable to allow the Notes as framed by Sir Walter Scott to remain as the sole illustrations of the text.

JAMES MACKNIGHT.

It is well known, that I am of a Familie who, at all times and upon all occaſions, were attached to the Crown of Scotland, and who have ſufficientlie ſuffer'd for it, and that I was earlie inſtructed in the principles of an indiſpenſable duty and fidelitie towards my Prince; and I muſt own, that from my infancie I had an innate zeal and affection for all the remains of the old Royall Familie of Scotland; and tho' I was ſo far a

ERRATA.

On Page 1st of Preface, line 4, *for* " But the period is now passed, during which any remarks, however satirical and harsh, could inflict pain on individuals or particular persons; and the reflections are directed against them almost exclusively in their capacity as actors in a great public and political movement;" *read* " But the period is now passed, during which any remarks, however satirical and harsh, could inflict pain on individuals; and the reflections on particular persons are directed against them almost exclusively in their capacity as actors in a great public and political movement."

Page 300, line 8, *for* " no," *read* " on."

MEMOIRS

OF THE

INSURRECTION IN SCOTLAND IN 1715.

BY

JOHN, MASTER OF SINCLAIR.

The matter I have in hand does not deſerve the dignitie of a Preface, nor am I ſuch a proficient in ſcriblery as to be a maſter of forms; but it being my miſfortune, upon the late part I acted in conjunction with other gentlemen of my countrie, not onlie to [have] fallen under the heavie cenſure of the advers partie, who with juſtice enough may condemn me, but to have likwiſe had the moſt ſevere and injurious reflections made upon me by ſome of thoſe with whome I was imbarqu'd in that unhappie cauſe; I think it neceſſarie ſo far, to ſupplie the want of ſome introductorie diſcourſe as, before I enter upon a relation of thoſe facts which make up the ſubject-matter of this paper, to ſay ſomewhat of the motives and intervening accidents that led me into that fatall ſtep, and of the reaſons I had of diſaproveing of that ill-concerted deſigne in the beginning.

It is well known, that I am of a Familie who, at all times and upon all occaſions, were attached to the Crown of Scotland, and who have ſufficientlie ſuffer'd for it, and that I was earlie inſtructed in the principles of an indiſpenſable duty and fidelitie towards my Prince; and I muſt own, that from my infancie I had an innate zeal and affection for all the remains of the old Royall Familie of Scotland; and tho' I was ſo far a

child at the Revolution as not to be capable of makeing any judgement of the proceedings of the times, yet that, as ſoon as I came to ſome reaſonable ſenſe and feeling of things of that kynd, I oftne lamented as well the paſt as the preſent miſſortunes of that Illuſtrious Familie; and haveing juſt before my ſaid late unhappie adventure received a very ſingular mark of her late Majeſtie's familie clemencie, as I hope I may without offence call it, it went a great way towards the fixing and rooting in my heart a ſenſe of love and gratitude towards that Stock, and all that yet remain'd of it.

I am now in courſe to ſay ſomewhat of that infamous ſurrender of our rights and liberties, or Union, as they pleaſe to call it. Tho' I was too younge to be concerned in publick buſineſs it made a deeper impreſſion on no Scotſman then on myſelf, thro' the priviledge I had as a Peer's eldeſt ſon, of being preſent at all the debates that aroſe upon paſſing that fatall act. I ſaw with horrour ſome of the deſcendants of our once noble anceſtors, who had made it their glory to ſacrifiſe life and fortune in preſervation of the freedom and independencie of their Countrie, altogether as ſollicitous to ruine and reduce it into a contemptible province to a neighbouring Nation. There was indeed amongſt thoſe a hideous mixture of ſuch whoſe names had no place in ſtorie, and who haveing no ſhare of the honour of their Countrie tranſmitted to them, were not ſo much to blame if they barter'd it away for profit or preferment, or to ſecure the ill-got wealth they had alreadie purchaſed, being conſcious of their own guilt; there were wretches of a muſhroom growth, who, like the falſe mother before Solomon, had no other way of getting a part but by diſtroying the whole; and they now flouriſh and lord it in peace, haveing ſweept away all marks of power and diſtinction, and thereby put themſelves on a levell with thoſe whoſe vaſſals they were not longe before. I had then ſo great a ſenſe of the diſhonour and Nationall evill, that I was not onlie free enough in cenſureing it and all its abettors, but I offer'd zealouſlie, to thoſe great men who oppoſed it, my helping hand to put a ſtop to it. And I am ſtill of opinion, that a madneſs would have been honourable and beautifull in the Scots Nation at that time. I ſay a madneſs, becauſe being then as unprovided as we were afterwards, we might been born down with the weight of a more powerfull Nation, ſuch as England; tho' in all proba-

bilitie our game would have been better, they haveing their hands full elſewhere, and we more unanimous amongſt ourſelves. But the prudence of one to whom a great part of the management of that affair was intruſted overrul'd his zeale, and we left in that diſgraceful degenerate ſtate, groaning under a load of taxes, which accumulated on us every day; while our Nobles and great men, the happie inſtruments of ſo good a work, went to Court to reap the fruits of their perfidie; and while our prophets at home, much at their eaſe, amuſed the ignorant people by damning and ſaving their ſouls according to their pleaſure, they themſelves, in all tranquillitie, haveing ſecured their beloved, becauſe profitable Kirk; nor being to bear any part of the burthen, in the mean time keept up the diviſions amongſt us, in caſe we might at anie time cemented to [have] done our countrie juſtice.

"Tantum religio potuit ſuadere malorum."

For my own part, I don't ballance to ſay that I wiſh, for the good of my countrie, we could have fallne on ſome method to have made ourſelves rid both of Church and Kirk for a time, for there ſeemed no poſſibilitie of makeing up our differences without takeing that methode; and it would be doeing them injuſtice not to think, that they had laid ſo ſolide foundations of religion in the hearts of the people, that we could for ſuch a generall good diſpenced with them for a few years. But if they have onlie ſoued tares inſtead of wheat, I don't know the good of them. I muſt freelie own I have no notion of principles of religion or government that tends to the deſtruction of my countrie.

The more the Engliſh ſaw into our differences at home, the greater infractions they made of the Treatie of Union, and the leſs they ſaw any reaſon of keeping meaſures with us. I myſelf ſuffer'd by the firſt, being one of thoſe four Peers' ſons who were returned members to ſit in the Houſe of Commons, notwithſtanding it was ſtipulated, on our Peers giveing up their rights of ſitting in the Houſe of Lords, that onlie excepted, they ſhould enjoy all the priviledges of Engliſh Peers. Almoſt everie Parliament has produced new infractions, nor ſhould I wonder that a Nation who knows ſo much of us, ſhould put it out of our power to ſell their liberties, ſince we had not honour enough to preſerve our own.

But of all the indignities that ever was done a Nation, the treatement given ſoon after the Union to a conſiderable number of the Scots nobilitie and gentrie was the greateſt. On the French makeing a feint to invade us, (for in my conſciens I don't beleive there was more deſigned by France,) yea, after the Engliſh themſelves were perſuaded that all was over, the Scots miniſters of State, at Court, being in danger of looſeing their poſts by a diſcoverie of their weakneſs in influencing the electing at home of proper Members of Parliament, to anſuer the ends of England, put it in the heads of the Engliſh Miniſtrie to lay hold of that pretext to bring up to London, like malefactors, thoſe of the beſt families and beſt intereſts of the Scots Nation; which the Engliſh went eaſilie into, that the Scots might know their maſters earlie. "Et quam gravis caſus in ſervitium ex libertate ſit, illi ſecum ipſe reputarent."—(Saluſt. Bel. Jug.) But what made the indignitie the greater was, that after keeping them ſo long in priſons at home they brought them up in triumph to London, to be inſulted on the road by their mobb; as if it was not enough to have made them ſlaves, but they muſt be told it by every ſcoundrell of that Nation, which would appear'd to been no ſmall part of their deſigne; for the event ſhewed they had nothing to lay to their charge.

Haveing ſaid ſo much of the principal motives that engaged me in that deſigne, the leaſt part of which would been enough to me to embrace the firſt favourable opportunitie to aſſert the honour of my Countrie, I think it neceſſarie, in my Vindication, to give my reaſons for being in the beginning backward to engage in that deſperate attempt which was pretended to be meant for the releif of the countrie; and that the reader may form the juſter idea of the ſpirit that then reigned, and the grounds I walkt on, I will give an account of myſelf for ſome years before, as well as of others, that he may diſtinguiſh betwixt what men ought to doe and ought to think, and what they doe think, and what they are capable of.

Soon after the paſſing of the Union I left Scotland, and about the age of tuentie went abroad to the armie, without recommendation, ſupport, or the leaſt acquaintence there, and I may ſay without monie, but what was worſt of all without the conſent of my Father, which, had I carried with me, might have ſupplied moſt of thoſe wants. I beleive, I haveing ſtudied as

much as moſt of younge men had done of my age, he had deſigned me for ſome other ſtate of life. But being prepoſeſſt with the ſame follie that moſt younge men are, I lookt on all other ways of liveing as unworthie of a man of qualitie; even tho' I forſaw, beſides theſe other diſadvantages, that the very caracter of my familie was alone enough to be a clog to me, which for ſome centuries bygone, till then, would at leaſt intitled me to ſomething. So changeable are the affairs of human life, that what at one time is his greater advantage, is, at another, his greateſt miſfortune.

In my way to the armie, while I was meditateing how I ſhould carrie a firelock, I had the good luck to meet with a colonall, a gentillman of note of my countrie, who had the generoſitie to attache himſelf more to me than I did to him. He made me ſome time after a captain in his regiment, where I ſerved till I was oblidged to quit, for tuo miſfortunes that happened in a very ſhort time, one after the other, notwithſtanding of the court-mariſhall's recommending me to the Generall, his Grace the Duke of Marlebourough's mercie, which was always lookt on as equall to a pardone, and which, I can aver, was never refuſed to anie but myſelf; nor was his allowing me to ſerve at the ſeiges of Lille and Ghent precedented, on my giveing my word of honour to return to areſt after thoſe ſeiges were over, which I did, and continued till his Grace of Marlebourough ſent his repeated orders to make my eſcape, which I diſobey'd tuice; but at laſt, being encouraged by his promiſe to recommend me to any Prince in Chriſtendom that I pleaſed, for theſe were his words, I went off, and procured his recommendation to the King of Pruſſia, in whoſe ſervice, which, I may ſay is of all the ſtrickteſt, I came back to ſerve in the Low Countries, where I continued untill the end of the war; at which time her Majeſtie Queen Ann, haveing, as it was ſaid, turned Tory, vouchſafed me her pardon.

I need not uſe many words to convince, that I who had bore my ſhare of the fatigues of a bloodie war, and more than my equall ſhare of traverſes and chicanes, had now ſeen through the follie of the world; and the rather that I had taſted all the ſouer of ſervice, but none of the ſweet, was extreamlie glade to retire home, my temptations to a countrie life being none of the leaſt of thoſe who followed the armie; and that I might enjoy

myſelf the better, I put on a reſolution to joyn no partie, hopeing by that means to have the friendſhip of all my neighbours; haveing no thoughts of depending on any Court, could not conceave the advantages I could reap from anie partie, which onlie anſuer the ends of deſſigneing men, and is keept by them, to the ruine of commerce and good neighbourhood; and whatever the pretext may be, never tend to the good of a countrie, being always miſled by one or other who has moſt cunning and leaſt honour, who raiſes himſelf on the others ruins. Tho' my way of liveing till then had been very different, I had got ſo much knowledge by ſtrouleing for ſome time in the world, that I had a horrour of all thoſe Court tricks and courtiers, whoſe virtues I beleived conſiſted in lying, impudence to ſupport their rogueries, and their exterior eclat which dazels the eyes of the world, and impoſes on them; together with a ſervile, ſouple humor, which makes them abandon all that's good to ſerve their intereſt, for no ſooner one of them taſtes the ſueet of a penſion, than

> " In villos abeunt veſtes, in crura lacerti,
> Fit lupus, nec veteris ſervat veſtigia formæ."

Haveing this opinion of that ſet of men, my neceſſities not forcing me to depend on them, nor my inclinations leading me to raiſe myſelf at the expence of my countrie, I was reſolved I'd neither cheat or be cheated; at leaſt I would keep out of the way of it as much as I could, and had determined that with myſelf, when one who I had reaſon to think was my friend, and to whome I oued obligations, told me, at London, when there in my way home, it would be proper for me to waite on my Lord Mar, Secretarie of State for Scotland, and in all appearance the riſeingeſt man of that Nation, and aſſure him I would be determined by him in every thing; at leaſt make him a compliment to that purpoſe, tho' I knew he had done me all the harm that lay in his power, by ſtoping my pardon underhand. I anſuerd that gentleman, who gave me the advice, very franklie, that by God I would be no man's ſlave, nor determind by any bodie, far leſs by his Lordſhip of Mar, who I never had anie opinion of. Upon which his Lordſhip, when I went to waite of him, found himſelf oblidged to ſpeak free language to me, and pretended the Queen's order to keep me for half a year

at London for a frivolous reaſon. At laſt, finding that I had no regarde to what he ſaid, he fell on ſeverall little indirect methods to doe it, which, being as ineffectual, ſome days after, when I ſaw him, he ſpoke plainlie to me about the elections, by which I diſcoverd his deſigne. I afterwards told the gentleman who had ſpoke to me to waite of Mar, that I was not the ſimple German he took me to be, and aſkt him ſeriouſlie whether I had not diſcoverd his Lordſhip? He ownd ingenuouſlie it was ſo, and that my Lord was affraid I ſhould interfeer with ſome of his new acquired creatures in the countie of Fife, where he knew I had ane intereſt. I was informed afterwards, that his Lordſhip haveing uſe of all his intereſt at Court to hinder the Queen's pardoning me, finding it was not in his pouer, ſent Sir Hugh Paterſon, his brother-in-law, to my brother, to aſſure him of my Lord Mar's friendſhip; but inſinuating it would be proper that my father ſhould write a civill letter to Mar, oweing him the favour; which my father was not mean enough to ſtoop to.

While at London, I had occaſion to ſee the meanneſs of ſome of our Scots Nobilitie who were of the ſixteen, and who I heard complain griveouſlie of the Treaſurer's cheating them; becauſe he had gone out of toun without letting them know, or giveing them monie, as he had promiſed. I was told, they wanted a hundred pound, or ſome ſuch matter, to pay their debts, and carrie them down to Scotland; and that they uſed to hange on at his levie like ſo many footmen. My God! how concerned I was to ſee thoſe who pretended to be of the ancient Scots Nobilitie reduced to beg at ane Engliſh Court! "O quantum mutati ab illis." And ſome of thoſe, of which number was my Lord Kilſeyth, were they who gave themſelves the greateſt airs in our affair;—ſo uſefull is impudence to impoſe on mankind. I ſoon got out of that place, where I ſaw nothing but what was chocking, to enjoy my libertie and the innocent amuſements of a countrie life, reſolving rather to put my hand to the plough than ever proſtitute myſelf and the honour of my familie by truckeling or cringeing to any inſolent or deceitfull courtier.

When I got home, I had the good luck to be very well receaved by all the gentlemen of the countie I lived in, and I may ſay without vanitie that no familie had ſo good a caracter amongs them, or was ſo well lookt on as

ours, both by gentrie and commons; for no man had to reproach us with riſeing on the ruines of either our countrie or neighbours, or ſo much as with the leaſt breach of faith or promiſe; the little that remain'd to us was got and preſerved by our virtue, of which had we had leſs our eſtate would been much greater.

I ſoon found that the countrie was in a ferment. The Tories begun to hope, and the Whigs to fear. I keept up to my reſolution above half a year, and was equallie civill to both, and without entring into any of their differences, went to both Church and Kirk, as they happned in my way. I found this my behaviour diſpleaſed the High Flyers, and they ſpread about that I was an errant Whig. Tho' I had been a great part of my time out of the countrie I was not ignorant of the generall caracters of the parties, or of the particular caracters of thoſe whome they were compoſed of. I lookt on the Whigs as a ſet of men very capable to ſerve their countrie, but their moralls ſo vitiated that they had not the leaſt inclination. As for the Tories, I beleived them willing to ſerve their countrie without the leaſt capacitie. The Whigs' principles, I ſaw all alonge, were entirelie founded on their intereſt, and never change but with it. The Tories' ſeemed properlie to have no foundation, and conſiſts in caprice, and a contradiction of every thing the Whigs doe, I beleive, not more from a prejudice of education as from an averſion contracted in their continuell ſtruggles; which eaſilie appear'd from the bad uſe they made of the many pollitick leſſons the Whigs daylie gave them; for, as Horace ſays—

"Dum vitant stulti vitia, in contraria currunt."

But what was moſt unaccountable, that which was at all other times, in all States, the onlie ſupport of ſocietie, and indiſputablie the beſt founded of all principles—the love of countrie—was extinct and forgot by both; and in that point onlie did they ſeem to agree; ſo that I may take the libertie to ſay that the Tories aſperſed me injuſtlie, for at that time I had no mind either to be infected with the Whigs' knaverie or their follie, tho' then, as at all other times of my life, they themſelves had my good wiſhes. Theſe aſperſions, which they knew were falſe, were ſometime after backt by griveous accuſations and complaints to myſelf; the heads of them were

my goeing to the Kirk, by which means I had intirelie loſt the Church; and the other was, my not joyning the Tories in all their caballes. After many repeated inſtances from the beſt of my friends, for all thoſe I lookt on to be ſuch were of that partie, I was ſo ingenuous to tell them, that I thought my goeing ſometimes to the Kirk was without conſequence, and that I did it not to be odious to the common people; I never thought my ſcandall had lyen that way, and if it gave offence, I could eaſilie diſpence with a worſhip that conſiſted onlie in ignorant preaching, which oftne raiſed my ſpleen but never my devotion, and as ſeldom edified me. As to medling in partie buſinefs, I had reſolved to keep myſelf free, ſince there was no view of ſerveing the countrie, but a certaintie of diſquieting myſelf, and neglecting my familie affairs. It was repreſented to me, that my familie intereſt lay that way, and it was a ſhame for a man to be ane uſeleſs burthen to the earth when he had it in his power to be ſignificant in his countrie, and at ſame time to ſerve it. I had told them that the rubs I had met with, together with the tract of miſſortunes, of which no man, for the time I had lived, had a greater ſhare, had cured me of that follie of wiſhing to be ſignificant in a countrie, and left me no other view but that of liveing at eaſe. Happie had I keept up to that reſolution.

Not long after, the Whig miniſters furniſht me with a very juſt pretext of giveing up with them, for the pulpits begun to beat to rebellion, like ſo many drums poſted at convenient diſtances to alarme, as if that had been the deſigne of them, and the miniſters payed onlie for that uſe. I thought myſelf oblidged in honour not to give my countenance to thoſe who declared themſelves enemies to that good Queen who ſo latelie had vouchſafed me her pardon. The Whigs did not ſtop there; they armed themſelves expeditiouſlie throughout the whole countrie, and at ſame time ſpread reports that the Tories were all arm'd from France, the truth of which has been too well known ſince. All this while, the good Tories ſatiffied themſelves with drinking loyall healths, and writeing bold addreſſes to her Majeſtie, ſome telling her of the Whigs preparations againſt her, and all promiſeing to ſtand by her with their lives and fortunes. One muſt been blind not to ſee through the Whigs' management and the Tories follie; and I have ſince found, by my experience, that I had then a juſt notion

of every man of them throughout the whole kingdom. In ſpite of all this, like one infatuated, and cut out for deſtruction, being teazed and reproacht by friends, who, I thought, knew more than myſelf, I was at laſt perſuaded to goe alonge, believing the Whigs were to rebell, and that there would be ſoon a neceſſitie of joyning; and accordinglie went to a meeting of the countie where an addreſs was communicated to us befor the meeting, which was then to be preſented, and ſent to the Queen. It was a bold cavalier addreſs, telling her of the Whigs armeing, and their clergies preaching rebellion; and in the common ſtile, promiſing to ſtand by her with their lives and fortunes.

The Earl of Rothes, the ſherif, who came there to oppoſe it, with a handful of his partie, rebated inſtantlie all of them who preſented the addreſs, tho' they were more than thrice his number. I came there as a ſpectator, and, haveing been at none of thoſe head courts before, nor being in fee of a foot of ground, aſkt ſomebodie who ſtood by, If I might not ſpeak? He ſaid I might, as my father's ſteward. I was ſorrie and angrie to ſee thoſe ſo ſhamefullie baffled, who had undertakne to doe wonders, and, after pulling the addreſs out of Major Balfour's pocket, inſpired them with courage, and got it paſſed with very little trouble. This tryſle gain'd me their eſteem; it did not raiſe my expectations of them; but as follie is the ſame from the beginning to the end, I did not ſtop there, and fell into what I had before avoided, the greateſt intimacie. It was the common talk that the Queen was to put her brother on the throne; I oftne told them I wiſht it ſo much that I could not bring myſelf to believe it; nor did I ſee one ſtep takne towards it, except they'd ſay that the Whigs armeing throughout the whole Nation was a mean to bring it about, when they were cheating the Queen with their fooliſh addreſſes, and telling her they'd ſtand by her with their lives and ffortunes, when it was plaine they had not the ſoules to doe it. Could any bodie pretend to perſuade me that they, who had neither armes nor horſes, could be capable of any thing but drinking; yea, giveing all the allowances could be aſkt to the weakneſs of countrie gentlemen, I could not conceive that they were ſo great fools as not to know, when the ſherrif and miniſters had armed all the mob of the countie; if they deſſigned but ſelf-defence,

armes and horſes were not neceſſarie to them; and, for that reaſon, I lookt on all they did or ſayd to be but gaſconnade onlie to pleaſe themſelves, as they had done theſe tuentie-eight years bypaſt.

It's not to be believed that this way of ſpeaking could have got me the caracter of a Whig from ſome of them. The Tories have that wiſe maxime, amongſt many other, whoever does not fall into their follies, or contradicts their nonſenſe or lyes, muſt inſtantlie be branded.

However, haveing had ſome further tryells, they ſent ſome of their number to get a poſitive anſuer from me, If I would command them, in caſe an opportunitie offer'd to reſtore the King, and break the Union. I ſaid I would, if they'd allow me to judge of the proper time, and ſatiſfie myſelf with the reaſonableneſs of the project; for I knew them ſo well that I did not know what to think of them, nor would I be determined by them. But if they would believe me, the beſt thing they could doe in the mean time was to provide arms and horſes, for without that I'd have nothing to doe with them; for in the diſpoſition the Whigs were then in I expected everie day we ſhould all be takne and tyed, except they'd give over irritateting a partie daylie who had armes in there hands when we had none. I told them further that I would take care of one, and next poſt would write to Holland for fiftie firelocks with the next poſt, which, with the armes I had, would defend me againſt the inſults of the whole countrie. Being all alone at home, I could barricade myſelf ſo that no mob would dare to attack me; for, happne what would, I was reſolved not to be takne. This appear'd to make ſome impreſſion on them, being convinced of the truth of what I ſaid, and they deſired me to come to a meeting of the principall gentrie, where I might have an opportunitie of laying it before them. I found difficultie in that, becauſe of the number they ſpoke of, and ſome one or others blabbing. They anſuered, they knew the people they had to doe with; that if any private methode were fallne on to provide armes, they'd think themſelves affronted and take none of them when they came, ſo that there was ane abſolute neceſſitie of meeting with ſome of thoſe who had moſt diſcretion, for which a day was named. Accordinglie I keept the apointment at Denmure's houſe, where, after repeating my reaſons for armeing, I found a few diſ-

poſed, and moſt of them ſurpriſed, and lookt on thoſe who adviſed armeing as raſh people, who had a mind to ruine them. They were told, that armes would bite no bodie, that it was ane old Scots proverb they bodded peace, and there could be no harm in haveing them if they did not put them to a wronge uſe, which ſtill depended on every man's ſelf. I told them likwiſe I had ſent to Holland for armes to take care of myſelf, and they might doe as they pleaſed. At laſt, after a good dale of idle diſcourſe, and more drinke, they were perſuaded to allow me and other three to ſend a commiſſion to Harry Crauford for fourſcore carabines and carabine belts, and as many pairs of piſtolls, with a ſmall quantity of pouder and flints, for that was all they would conſent to take; tho' to encourage them I bid them put anie proportion on me, notwithſtanding I was alreadie armed. They were at ſame time adviſed to take the brokne dragoons into their ſervice, numbers of which were then to be got; but to no purpoſe, in caſe they might aſkt ten ſhillings more a year then the countrie ſervants. Some time after we found out that Mr Malcome of Grange, in driveing underhand ane intereſt for my Lord Mar, then Secretarie of State, was the man that had raiſed that jealouſie againſt me, and about tuentie of us at one time reſolved Mr Malcome ſhould not be allowed to take upon, and that my Lord Lyon ſhould no more be knight of the ſhire. But the Queen's death happning, we cemented againſt the common enemie.

Were I to give a full detaile of the bad conduct of thoſe gentlemen, and the follies they put me upon, I'd never have done. It was not enough to be drag'd alonge to give them ſpirit in elections, but I muſt take oaths to King George, which I had never done before to any prince, becauſe no bodie of our partie would accept of being Juſtice of Peace if I did not, and in that caſe the whole countrie would be left to the mercie of the Whigs. The fear of a proceſs ſtartled them, and reallie it was to be expected, for by the Act of Succeſſion the ſame Juſtices of Peace who were in commiſſion at her Majeſtie's death were to continue for half a year after; the queſtion was, Whether we, who had not exerced that office, ſince our commiſſion was not read till ſhe was dead, could be underſtood to be thoſe in office? Lawyers were divided about it. In the meantime I was to bear the brunt of all, for no bodie would ſit without my being preſent, and at laſt I was, I may

ſay, deſerted. Upon another occaſion I turned a Don Quixot to ſerve the partie. A magiſtrat of Kircaldee, one of the moſt conſiderable towns in the Nation, wanting to be continued in his office, and, as the Whigs ſaid, haveing no bodie in the whole town for him but thoſe of the Town Councill, who they called a packt partie, and who were not above tuelve, or ſome ſuch number, and were ſo outraged againſt him that they threatned to deſtroy him and thoſe of his partie if he did not deſiſt. Tho' I was no favourite of that people, upon the Magiſtrates deſireing of me to be preſent, becauſe of the regarde they'd have to me might keep them in awe; and tho' I knew the mob of that place no leſs dangerous than in anie town of the Nation, eſpeciallie when ſet agoge by the miniſters, and headed by all the principall people in town, and ſupported by the ſherrif of the countie, yet I ventured with one ſervant, and eſcorted him through a very numerous mob who oppoſed his goeing to the Town-Houſe, which everie bodie ouned was oueing to me, and to tell truth more than I had reaſon to expect. But being their devoted ſlave, I muſt run all riſques to ſerve them, and to keep them eaſie once more accept of being Juſtice of Peace, in a new nomination the Whigs procured, where there was onlie five in all of our partie nominated.

The noice of the rebellion beginning then to ſpread, the Juſtices got orders from Court to ſeize the horſes and armes of all the diſaffected perſons. In the beginning, our Juſtices did not believe the neceſſitie was ſo great in our countrie, of ſeizing the horſes and armes of thoſe who were reputed ſo; but the news of the mobs in England increaſcing, and heats growing there every day to greater hights, our Juſtices ſeem'd onlie to want ſome one to propoſe it, and every one waited on the others' motion. At laſt the Proclamation was read in one of our meetings where I was preſent, I, as I reallie then believed, ſaid, that the Proclamation ſeemed to be calculated for England, who were then in broiles, and not for us, who were liveing in great tranquillitie, and had not ſhewed the leaſt marks of diſaffection, and beg'd of the Juſtices that, contrarie to the deſſigne of our office, we might not be the firſt diſturbers of the publick peace, for I could not ſee that was the way to ſerve King George. Tho' they had little to ſay againſt this, yet I could perceave

they were not ſatiffied, and feared their meeting ſometime by themſelves without advertiſeing me, and in that caſe their blind zeale would carrie them all lengths, and for that reaſon took all the precautions I could to be preſent at everie meeting, of which we had ſeveralls, where I found them very hot upon ſeizing horſes and armes. I repreſented to them that, above all things, we were to avoid even the very appearances of privat revenge in publick affairs; and aſkt them, If in their conſciences they thought the gentlemen of the countrie had more horſes than was neceſſarie for them, or ſuch as could be ſaid to be of uſe in war? As to their armes, they knew as well as I that a pair of old ruſtie piſtolls was little enough to defend one's houſe againſt theeves, nor did I think them off that value to draw upon us the hatred of our neighbours, ſince their keeping them could not be of that conſequence to put the Government in danger; and in reallitie it ſeem'd ſo to myſelf at that time. By this I gave onlie a checque to their violent proceedure; and they being generallie ſeven againſt me alone, was glad to agree with them to refer all to a generall meeting of the whole Juſtices of the countie, it being allowed not proper for us to take the odium of all upon ourſelves. By that means I not onlie gained time, but in caſe the meeting happned not to be frequent, I had hopes we might foyle them once more by bringing all our force there, which, with a new convert, made up ſix. And ſo it fell out; for either truſting to one another, or becauſe they would not ſhare the odium when they thought the buſineſs would doe without their being preſente, they met ſo little ſtronger than ourſelves that we got them managed, and that in a countie where they were ten Juſtices to one, and where there was nothing wanting of the violence of the partie; and in that condition did we continue till our affair broke out. I'm ſenſible, I have enlarged too much on things that won't appear of any conſequence to the reader, to deſerve ſo long a detaile; but ſuch as they are, they coſt me no littlc travell and pains, and of that kind that none of our partie were capable, or had authoritie enough to goe about them, and at leaſt deſerved ſome better returne. One thing I can affirm, that had it not been for my management, not one of the Fife gentlemen had ſaved their horſes, who made up the beſt ſquadron of thoſe engaged with us. True it is, I have oftne

repented it, nor did I then believe they'd make ſo bad a uſe of that piece of ſervice, and act ſo inconſideratlie as they did ſoon after; for my deſſigne was to leave them at their freedom, in caſe a probabilitie happned to ſerve the countrie. I muſt confeſs that to bring that about I was oblidged to deſſemble, and I challenge mankind to ſay that ever I acted a double part at any other time of my life.

It's now high time to enter on the ſubject of this Paper, which is to conſiſt in a faithfull relation of the manner of riſeing, the principall councills, mouvements, and tranſactions of that partie whilſt I was with them, and of the reaſons that induced me to ſeperate ſo early from them.

> " Quamquam animus meminiſſe horret, luctuque refugit,
> Incipiam."

About the end of Julie [1715], if I remember right, I went to the eaſtern part of the countie to doe ſome private buſineſs, where meeting with Mr Malcome of Grange, I was invited to dine with him in my return homewards. I came there, with a good many others, at the time appointed, and found Mr Malcome abſent. His ſiſter made us ſit down to dinner, and aſſured us her brother would be with us ſoon; which accordinglie happned, for he was with us in half ane hour. After dinner he took me aſide, and told me, he had come from my Lord Mar and Generall Hamilton, who had landed at Elie the night before, hard by his houſe, out of a coale barck, from London, with onlie three ſeamen; and that my Lord and the Generall had wrought all the way (this to raiſe the admiration); that my Lord paſſed under the name of Mr Maule, and had gone, alonge with Generall Hamilton, to Bethun of Balfour's houſe, Hamilton's ſon-in-law, whence they had ſent for him. I aſkt him the meaning of that. He ſaid, they were the forerunners of a very good thing, and they were goeing to the Highlands to pave the way for the Duke of Berwick's comeing, if not the King's; for it was not certaine if he muſt not goe to England with the Duke of Ormond; for all was in the laſt readieneſs in England, as well as in France, whence we were to expect ten thouſand men, whoſe landing we'd ſoon hear off, both in England and Scotland, with great ſtores off

armes and ammunition. I aſkt him, What had my Lord Mar to doe with all this, who I had no notion of giveing any credit to; for did not all the world know the part [he] had always acted; and ſaid, "Timeo Danaos et dona ferentis." He ſaid, there was no reaſon to fear, ſince, to his knowledge, my Lord Mar had ſhew'd himſelf a very firm man to our cauſe in the Queen's reigne; and he had takne the freedom to put him in mind of the Union, and that his Lordſhip own'd his fault, and beg'd of him not to ſpeak of it, for he was going to doe his beſt to repair it. I told him Mar would find it was eaſier to ſell our libertie than recover it; and if we were ſuch fools as to truſt ſuch a man, could our repenting afterwards retrieve it? Malcome ſaid further, I have told him of the daylie fear we are in of haveing our horſes takne from us, and the ſtruggle you have had of late, and that it will be impoſſible for you to ſtave it off any longer. He ſaid Mar anſuer'd, Whenever they are preſſed let them draw together and defend themſelves. I muſt confeſs that I was ſtunned with the raſhneſs of that order, or rather advice, for he did not pretend then to command, becauſe the Duke of Berwick was expected daylie, as he then gave out; and I told Malcome if the Fife gentlemen would take my advice, which I did not doubt they would, they ſhould not act ſo raſhlie; did not he know that the Gouvernment had alreadie takne umbrage, and had ſent a regiment of dragoons to Stirveling, within a few hours marche of us, and that the Whig magiſtrats and burgers of Pearth had alreadie made themſelves maſters of that toun, and conſequentlie of the Bridge of Ierne, our onlie paſſage out of Fife; and would the Sherrife and the mob of the countrie, who, all knew, were armed, be wanting on ſuch ane occaſion to take us, being hem'd in on all hands in a peninſule; or if we got out, who could aſſure us of a refuge in the Highlands, ſince it was more than probable the Duke of Athole, into whoſe countrie we muſt retire, would ſeize us, and deliver us up to the Gouvernment, as all theſe things were then very obvious to any who alloued himſelf to think, or who had the leaſt notion of the buſineſs deſigned. So this may ſerve, in the beginning, to ſhew that his Lordſhip of Mar neither knew the ſituation of the countrie, ſo neceſſarie to a Generall, nor did he care what became of the whole, provided he had the good luck to put it once fairlie in confuſion; which the uncertaintie of

his ſucceſs in the Highlands proves further, for at that time he was not ſhure of anie bodie; and yet moſt impudently, in his printed letter from France, where he endeavours to excuſe himſelf by palliating all his late villanies with new lyes, he ſays, He could not allay the Scots heat. I aſkt Malcome, If he thought the want of armes was nothing? He anſuered, There was no want of armes and everie thing neceſſarie; for, before Mar came from London, he was aſſured all was gone from France that was needfull, both of monie and ammunition, and certainlie all muſt be landed in ſome creeck in the North. He ended, telling me that Mar and Generall Hamilton had gone to Hary Balfour's houſe, a gentleman of weight in the countie, and brother to my Lord Burleigh;[1] where I knew Malcome had ſent them, being in their way to Duplin, where they were to be that night. I don't doubt Malcome had given Mar inſtructions how to manage that poor gentleman, whoſe miſfortune was to be very eaſielie elevated, and as eaſielie diſjected. Haveing ſerved a Major of King William's armie, and ever after being of the Torie partie, and of late years always preſes of the countie meetings, I imagine Mar would talk big to him, and promiſe him very great things. From that his Lordſhip went to Duplin, and from thence to the Highlands. Malcome took my word of honour I ſhould ſpeak to nobodie of what he had told me till meeting; and ſaid, he would ſee me in tuo-three days.

For Mar, being then out of danger, he was to goe his rounds, and give private information, to all who could be truſted, of his Lordſhip's landing, and the deſigne of his comeing; with ample inſtructions and full pouers to ſolve all doubts, which was Malcome's great excellencie. For enough, if anie wanted to have the King come, before they'd raiſe, which was the caſe of moſt, I may ſay of all, in the beginning, Malcome was to bring him in leſs than eight days. Others would neceſſarlie have the Duke of Berwick: Malcome laid down that as a fundamentall point, which there was no doeing without, and it was ſuppoſed he was alreadie landed; ſome deſcended to a pair of piſtells,—if one pair did not ſerve them, they could have tuentie. One may judge that everie thing coſting ſo little was eaſilie procured. In

[1] Henry Balfour of Dunbog, third son of John third Lord Burleigh. He had been a Major of Dragoons.

ſhort, England was unanimous; the troops were readie to revolt, and the aſſiſtance of France alloweing us to want nothing, the thing could not faile; yea, it muſt be done whether we would or not. But he could not underſtand the Maſter of Sinclair, who, tho' naturallie a hardie younge fellow, was now turned backward, and did not ſeem to joyne heartilie; at ſame time beg'd of them not to take anie notice of it to me, becauſe very often I uſed to be ſevere on him. In goeing his rounds, he came to me in the fields, not finding me at home. I aſkt, How a raiſeing could be propoſed to a people who were neither provided with horſes fit for the purpoſe, or at all armed, a great part of which had not ſo much as big bridles or ſadles; and if my Lord Mar ſpoke truth, it was proper for us to ſee the King landed before we ſtirred; for it was my opinion a countrie was not to be riſqu'd on the faith of a man who had no pretenſions to be believed, but what his impudence afforded him. He anſuered, There was no more deſired of us but to be readie, and we would hear of all being come very ſoon; and he was goeing about to advertiſe all friends to put themſelves in readieneſs, and that moſt were getting ſadles and bridles from Edinburg. I bid him reconcile that with Mar's advice about drauing ourſelves together; I cautioned him againſt telling of ſtories, for I knew it was his way; tho' I found him at that time very modeſt with me, yet I did not doubt he would be otherwiſe with the firſt countrie laird he met with. Amongſt many bad things that attend a partie, ſuch men as this are its neceſſarie evils; who at firſt are found tractable enough to be taught to fetch and carrie letters by thoſe who lead a partie, are afterwards intruſted with little commiſſions in countrie brigues or elections, and by the credit of their patrons, ſpeaking nonſenſe, lying, drinking, and idleneſs, accompliſhments requiſite to get a caracter amongſt countrie gentlemen, who out of zeale believe everie thing that ſuch fools ſay, and becauſe they never faile to flatter their follie, which talents of pleaſing puts them at laſt in poſſeſſion of diſpoſeing of them; who no ſooner find themſelves thus eſtabliſht than they ſet up on their own foot, forget their old patrons, as well as themſelves, and, rather than act in concert with anie of them to whome they muſt think they owe defference, take up with the firſt who they think capable to ſupport them in driveing a new ſcheme, and flatter their own

vanitie by imagineing themſelves great men, and if the project ſucceeds, that all will be oweing to them. Of this kidney was Mr Malcome, or the Honeſt[1] Laird, as they pleaſe to call him, and ſhews that few or none, however diſintereſted they may appear are without views of a back game. For on that change of the Miniſtrie, in the end of the Queen's reigne, he was ſent for to London by my Lord Mar, and offered five hundred pound a year, as he himſelf told me, but ſaid he could not take the oaths, and for that reaſon refuſed the poſt; tho' I am apt to beleive the poſt would have rendered him ſoon uſeleſs to his Lordſhip.

My Lord Mar being now got into the Highlands, ſtay'd ſome days with Indercale, chief of the Fercharſons, a gentleman of one of the beſt eſtates of that countrie, but is vaſſall to my Lord Mar for a ſmall part of it. He, ſoundeing this gentleman, who had always been firm to the cauſe, and finding him diſpoſed to raiſe ſo ſoon as the King came, but not before, told him no more of his deſſigne at firſt but that he was come to advertiſe the King's ſriends to have all in readieneſs. He ſoon after procured a meeting at Aboyne with the Lords Huntlie,[2] Tullibardine,[3] Southeſque,[4] (a blank in

[1] The Jacobites, while they continued to exist as a party, used to distinguish themselves by the title of *honest men*.

[2] Alexander Marquis of Huntly, afterwards second Duke of Gordon. He appears very soon to have tired of the Insurrection, or of the mode in which it was conducted, and became eager for accommodation with the Government. As he acted in concert with our author, both were considered by the more violent Jacobites as lukewarm in the cause. Huntly had the good fortune to make his peace with Government, succeeded to his father's estates, and died in 1728.

[3] William Marquis of Tullibardine, second son to John Duke of Athole, succeeded to the second title of his house on the death of his brother, killed at the Battle of Mons, in 1709. He was attainted for his share in the Rebellion 1715; but, escaping to France, he lived to take part in the final affair of 1745, when he was made prisoner, and died in the Tower of London in 1747. His Father obtained an Act of Parliament passing over the Marquis of Tullibardine, and settling the family estate and titles on Lord James Murray, the younger brother of the Marquis.

[4] James Carnegie, fifth Earl of South Esk. He escaped to France, after suffering attainder, and died there in 1729. The direct line of his family ended in his person.

MS.) and the heads of Clans, or their deputes, of which Glengarie was one of the chief, together with ſeverall others of no note, who he made paſs for the deputes of the Low Countrie counties, ſent to him with inſtructions from thoſe gentlemen; when all their buſineſs was to ſay what he had ordered them. After telling them of his deſigne, he ſheu'd them the King's picture, which was all the credentialls he had, kiſſed it frequentlie with the appearance of more than ane ordinarie affection, and, to confirm all, told them, it was ane originale which was ſent him directlie from his Maſter; for he judged there was ſome ſuch thing as that needfull to amuſe them, and gett into credit with them, and make him paſs for ane honeſt man; which, if once alloued him, he knew the people he had to doe with too well to doubt that he would ſoon put himſelf at the head of them. By the little knowledge I have of thoſe noblemen and gentlemen, I don't imagine they'd ſtart many difficulties, or would my Lord Mar's poſitive way of ſpeakeing allow of doubts, haveing come ſo latelie from England, where he muſt had occaſion to know the diſpoſition of that Nation, which he was not wanting to exaggerate; which was the eaſier believed that we had heard of nothing from thence but mobs and tumults.

All England being of our ſide, and perfaitlie well arm'd, the troops inclined our way; and the French King haveing promiſed to ſend over the King with ten thouſand men, the one half of which was to goe to England with the King and the Duke of Ormond, and the other to come to Scotland under the command of the Duke of Berwick, with a train of artilerie, great ſtores of armes and amunition, and plentie of officers and monie. By letters from France, before he came from England, all was in the laſt readieneſs; and he was ſent by the King's poſitive order, and by thoſe who were at the helm of affairs in England, to diſpoſe everie thing right as ſoon as poſſible, and was ſurpriſed to find all was not alreadie landed. In the mean time, no time was to be loſt; we must keep touch with England, who, tho' very well affected at preſent, they knew were a humorſome people, and whoſe heat might paſs, if not takne at the firſt bond. For his own part, he pretended to no command, and would give his vote to the Duke of Athole, who, he knew, would be moſt acceptable to the King, and who, there was no doubt, would accept if once he ſaw them

heartie. When he paſſed through Fife and Pearth ſhires he found them all readie to mount on a night's warning; and his letters from Stirveling-ſhire aſſured him to depend on them; and if they had but the leaſt doubt, they had but to aſk thoſe gentlemen then preſent, who were deputed from thoſe counties, and were men of honour, whoſe words might be takne (ſuch as James Malcome, Alexander Maitland, and the like, who he had brought there, as in the name of the whole). Southeſque, who was there, could anſuer for Angus countie, ſo that it depended on thoſe preſent to ſet the King on his throne, and break the Union, and reſtore their countrie to its ancient libertie. What honour and profit would acrew to them from that, they themſelves knew as well as he; but if they did not incline to it, after praying for ane occaſion of this kind ſo many years, he did not know what to think, and ſhould be mightilie ſurpriſed, and would drop the project, when he was more than ſure it was impoſſible it could faile. That he himſelf, who, without vanitie, was never takne for a fool, had to looſe as well as anie of them, and could not have greater intereſt in that affair then they; but that he'd had greater occaſions than any of them to know the whole to the bottom, would not engage in a thing of that kynd himſelf, if he did not ſee it eaſie; that Generall Hamilton, who had a conſiderable rank in the armie, was not ſo mad as to looſe it idlie, and knew particularlie how the armie was affected, amongſt whom he had ſo many friends and acquaintances. This, with as chemericall aſſiſtance from the King of Sueden as the other from France, but as little to be doubted of, ſeem'd more than was neceſſarie to thoſe gentlemen, of whome the greateſt part thought they were ſtronge enough to doe the work themſelves, it not being alloued there were troopes in Brittain; beſides few off the Highland gentlemen haveing to looſe, and thinking they might gain, animated the others, and on the leaſt heſitation that any had made, would accuſed him of couardice. So the Clans found no difficultie, if Huntlie would joyn in it; but without him they abſolutlie refuſed. Huntlie was ſoon ſatiſfied but not ſo eaſilie determined, and gave them his word of honour he would, provided they'd allow him his own time to riſe.

After things were believed and brought ſo far, it was agreed, to goe ſtraight home and get their folks together againſt (blank in MS.) day,

except Huntlie, who was alloued to be maſter of his own time. Generalls Hamilton and Gordon, who were experienced officers, were to diſpoſe of them till the Duke of Berwick came. That night they were together, the number haveing crouded the houſe where they were, and moſt of the gentlemen of the ſecond rank haveing no beds, were oblidged to ſet themſelves all night by the fire, a pleaſant enough ſtorie happened of a favourite footman of my Lord Mar's, who comeing in amongſt them, and takeing no notice of their want of beds, complained griveouſlie of the hardſhip of ſitting up a night, and ſuore rather than be more put to that pinch he'd goe back and turn Whig; but ſoon after comforted himſelf, ſaying, Let my maſter alone; by God, he can turn cat in pan as well as anie man in England. Next morning they ſeparated without more, onlie renewing their promiſes to meet, with all their followings, againſt (blank in MS.) day, and went home entirelie ſatiſfied with what Mar had ſaid to them.

> " Sed, veluti Pueris abſinthia tetra medentes
> Cum dare conantur, prius oras pocula circum
> Contingunt mellis dulci flavoque liquore,
> Ut Puerorum ætas improvida ludificetur
> Labrorum tenus, interea perpotet amarum
> Abſinthi laticem." (Lucretius, lib. 1mo.)

But what was ſo haſtilie promiſed was ſloulie performed, and all of them cool'd after returning home; tho' it did not hinder the ſtorie of their meeting to be improven upon in Mar's letters to thoſe he could truſt in all parts of the kingdom, where the numbers that each had promiſed to bringe were repreſented three or four times greater then they reallie had undertakne; nor is it the fault of the Highland gentlemen to leſſen their own numbers. Severall of the gentlemen of the countie I was of came to me to aſk my advice, and what was to be done? I bid them have all in readieneſs, but it was ſtill my opinion they ſhould not ſtirr till they ſaw further into it.

At laſt, being deſired to meet ſome of thoſe in the northern part of the countie, I got thither without a ſervant, the whole countrie's eyes being upon us. I found Major Balfour and ſeverall ſo bloun up, by what Mar had ſaid

to him, and by that viſite, and, I ſuppoſe, great promiſes, that there was no ſpeaking to him; and thoſe young people in his neighbourhood, who uſed to ſpur him up, who all their lives were fools, were now turned mad, Malcome haveing been amongſt them ſpreading his lyes. I told Major Balfour that he, who ought to ſee further than others, haveing ſeen the world, had a great dale to anſuer for if he miſled them raſhlie, on the word of a diſoblidged courtier; and would have argued the caſe with them, but to no purpoſe; all I could draw from them was, that I muſt goe alonge. I anſuered, that I did not truſt ſo much to their judgement, which I had ſeen ſo oftne faultie, to be overruled by them. This ſeemed the more extraordinarie, that he who was turned now the foreward man, on other occaſions was known by all, in things of leſs conſequence, to be affraid of his own ſhadow. In my goeing there I went into a gentleman's houſe, and miſſing my friend, waited of the ladie, who told me that I was mightilie blam'd for oppoſeing a thing that was ſo much for the good of the countrie. I aſkt, What that was? She ſaid, Takeing of armes. My anſuer was, How could they take what they had not. She ſaid, It was certain we'd make ſix hundred horſemen, well armed, in that countie. I aſkt, Who told her ſo? She ſaid, Her huſband. I told her, It was a ſhame for her huſband to be telling ſuch ſtories: not being able to contain myſelf, to ſee a man who then did not believe, more as I, that we could make one hundred, give out ſo barefaced a lye. To be ſhort, I left thoſe gentlemen, neither they nor I being well pleaſed with the interview; and the laſt words I ſpoke to them, when they preſſed me to goe alonge with them to command them, were, That being reſolved to be a man of my word, I would not promiſe raſhlie, but it might readilie happne I'd be better than my word; and ſo left them. This was before they knew my Lord Mar's ſucceſs in the Highlands. After that, they were hourlie animated with lyes from Pearthſhire, telling of armes and all other things being landed in the North; and they, leaſt they ſhould ſeem to be out of their dutie, repay'd the Pearthſhire folks in their own coine.

I was not longe at home when I had letters from thoſe gentlemen I had ſo latelie been with, deſireing me to meet them in anie private place, it not being proper we ſhould be ſeen together, [n]or durſt they come my length,

there being ſo many ſpies. I returned them for anſuer, that I had no buſineſs with them ſince they were mad. This did not hinder my correſpondence with the gentlemen of the weſtern part of the countie, with whom I met from time to time; I found them much more reaſonable, and told me plainlie of Malcome's inſinuations, takeing my promiſe I ſhould not reſent it at that time. We agreed not to riſe till we ſaw the King come, and then we were ſure the Highlandmen would be more unanimous, and armes and amunition and officers could not be wanting. Malcome had been up in the Highlands, and had returned with the news of Mar's ſucceſſful negotiation with the Marquiſe of Huntlie and the chiefs of the Clans. He called upon me in paſſing, and left me a letter, which at my comeing home I found was from my Lord Mar. He bid tell me he was goeing to his nephew's houſe, three miles from thence, where haveing buſineſs, he deſired I might follow him that afternoon. The letter was very ſhort, and, as nere as I can remember, it run thus:—

"Sir,—In the hurrie and confuſion we are in at preſent, I can give you no particular account of the King's affairs, onlie that all is goeing on to wiſh. You are ordered, on your alledgeance, to repair to the King's ſtandart, which is to be ſet up day.

Sir,

Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

Mar."

I went that afternoon and found Malcome with the gentlemen of the weſtern part of the countie. I told him, I had read the letter my Lord Mar had ſent me, and found that Mr Francois Steuart, brother to the Earle of Murray, who was then preſent, had got another of the ſame, which makes me believe this was the ſtile of all his circular letters. Malcome told me, he had been in the Highlands, and had waited of my Lord Mar, and that all the heads of Clans, who were the braveſt fellous in the world, had determined to meet together againſt (blank in MS.) day; that my Lord Mar's commiſſion to raiſe them, being laide on the table before them all, (for theſe were his words,) they were determined to looſe no time to vindicate the

libertie of their countrie, and ſet the King on his throne. I aſkt him, Did he ſee the commiſſion? He ſaid, No; for he had not got there till after the meeting, (which was falſe, for he was at the meeting,) but Southeſque and a great many others had ſeen it. I aſkt him, Did he hear Southeſque ſay ſo? He ſaid, No; for Southeſque was alreadie gone to raiſe the Angus people. I aſkt him, Why, if he ſaw my Lord Mar, his Lordſhip did not ſhew it to him? He ſaid, He was not a great enough man to demand it, and his Lordſhip was not pleaſed to offer it, haveing a great dale to doe. I took freedom to tell the companie, before Malcome, that then they might depend upon it there was no ſuch thing as a commiſſion; and that my Lord Mar's diſapointments at Court haveing render'd him miſerable, had made him deſperate, and, to my certaine knowledge, haveing nothing to looſe, his deſigne was to make himſelf a great man abroad, by riſeing on our ruines at home. Malcome anſuered, I had that from my Lord Rothes, for that was the ſtorie he was ſpreading.

I ſaid, I had not ſpoke to Rothes for more than a year, and needed nobodie to tell me my Lord Mar's circumſtances. I aſkt him, How the ſcheme came to be ſo ſoon changed, and that we muſt all riſe before a landing; for, by what he had told me latelie of my Lord Mar himſelf, and by all I could learn of the Jacobites reſolutions, they had reſolved never to ſtir till then. He ſaid, Wiſer people then he had thought it proper, and he inquir'd no further. I aſkt, If my Lord Mar knew of the King of France his death, for we had got the news of it ſome days before. He ſaid, He did, and was very well pleaſd to hear it, for a younge Prince, ſuch as the Regent, would puſh our affair with more vigour then the old King, who was half doated; and my Lord was poſitive, none in France was ſo well inclined to ſerve us as the Duke of Orleans, contrarie to all the falſe reports that were ſpread of him.[1] I told him plainlie I had no faith in the French entring into a new war, who were latelie reduced ſo low, and ſo glade to get rid of the laſt; and I was ſure they had no fleet that could pretend to land troops in Scotland, ſince we ſaw, by the Engliſh prepara-

[1] The real sentiments of the Duke of Orleans were afterwards made known by his intercepting the military stores provided for the insurgents, at the expense of the Chevalier St George, at Havre de Grace, and St Maloes.

tions, they were alreadie takeing their precautions; and did not everie bodie ſee, that ſince the Queen's death, England ſeemed to want nothing but a pretext of beginning the war; and what pains France had been at to evite it, witneſs the meſſages that the Regents, and after that which King George, ſent to the King of France about Mardyk, and with what ſubmiſſion they were anſuer'd, ſo unlike to the King of France's ordinarie ſtile.[1] France knew very well it was not with England alone they'd have to doe, ſince the ſame reaſons that made all the Allies ſo averſe to the peace would ſoon cement them into a new confederacie; the German Princes not languiſhing after any thing ſo much as the Engliſh and Dutch monie, which they could not patientlie bear the want of, being ſo long uſed to receave it. I ſaid, further, I did not believe one word of France aſſiſting us, and I forſaw the event: The Highlandmen would riſe out of hopes of plunder, and would doe as they had always done, which the hiſtorie of Montroſs, and ſince that, of my Lord Dundee, was enoughe to convince anie bodie of, which is, they certainlie defert on three events; firſt, they'd wearie and goe home, if they could not come to action ſoon; the ſecond, if they fight and get the victorie, plunder following on that, they'd be ſure to goe home with it; the third is, if they are beat, they run ſtraight home: ſo goe as it would, we of the Low Countries muſt be left in the lurch. The Highlandmen, on the other hand, being encouraged by haveing nothing to looſe, and its not being worth anie bodie's while to purſue them into their hills, where ane armie muſt be fatigued, and ruined with hunger and cold, would ſoon make their peace, as they had always done, or at leaſt truſt to it, when we would fall the ſacrifice, and be the jeaſt of all the people of common ſenſe in all Europe, by not onlie looſeing our eſtates but our honours. And, were we not to conſider what troops King George had againſt us, which were above thirtie thouſand men by the eſtabliſhment; and all that ever we had heard the Highlands could bring out was eight or nine thouſand men, without diſciplaine or armes, whome the Duke of Argyle's

[1] As the Peace of Utrecht was generally exclaimed against by the Whigs, it might seem that they would look out for a pretext to recommence the war. But it was strongly the interest of France, exhausted by the ambition of Lewis the XIV^th^, to recruit herself by some years of peace.

following, which was verie conſiderable, and the Grants, would embarraſs not a little; and how a few divided, armleſs people, in the corner of a narrow countrie, like ours, which at ſame time could ſubſiſt no number of men together, even tho' we had monie, could pretend to make war againſt a Prince who had the Dutch and Engliſh fleets at command, as well as the Engliſh Treaſorie, and conſequentlie all the force of Germanie and Holland, if his own was not ſtronge enough, I could not conceave. Malcolme ſaid, England would give him his hands full. I aſkt him, What made the Duke of Ormond goe out of England if it was ſo? He ſaid, To bring troopes from France. I told, If England was not to riſe till then, I could ſee no reaſon why we ſhould be made uſe of as the cat's foot by a Nation who, we knew, whither Whig or Torie was uppermoſt, would oppreſs us. He aſkt me, Would I venture nothing for the King? I anſuered, Everie thing but run my countrie into certaine ruine; for I could not ſee any thing we had to depend on; but it was ſtrange he could doe nothing for himſelf in France, that no leſs man than the Duke of Ormond muſt goe there, who, all knew, the whole Torie partie in England depended on. He ſaid, He ſuppoſed it had been neceſſarie; and we were to riſe to draw the troopes out of England, to facilitate the King's landing, and that Nation's riſeing for England would needs have him there. I ſaid, If that was what we wanted, we'd have troopes enough upon us. Beſides, the Duke of Berwick wanted to have us up before he came, was another of his reaſons, becauſe it was ſeen, at the deſcent,[1] nobodie offered to move. I ſaid, That very reaſon was the ſtrongeſt he could bring for our not riſeing, for that ſheu'd us how many accidents we had to fear from ſea; for, ſuppoſeing the French at that time in earneſt, even when they were almoſt in our harbours they were forced to get off again; and how luckie the Stirveling-ſhire gentrie were to get out of that ſcrape,[2] I left him to

[1] The attempt to invade Scotland in 1707. It was frustrated by the close purſuit of Sir George Byng with the English fleet, which followed the French squadron commanded by Fourbin so closely as to render the projected descent impracticable. The Chevalier St George was on board Fourbin's vessel in person.

[2] James Stirling of Keir, Archibald Seaton of Touch, Archibald Stirling of Carden, Charles Stirling of Kippendavie, and Patrick Edmonstoun of Newtoun,

judge, for they ſeemed the onlie [perſons] who were concerned in that affair; and I was of opinion that their credulitie then was enough to put others on their guard now, not to believe eaſilie. But after all that was ſaid, that they might not think it was fear that made me ſpeake ſo, as ſoon as the gentlemen of the countie, but particularlie thoſe of the weſtern part, got over this reaſoning, and were reſolved to goe, they needed but give me a few hours warning, and [I] ſhould be with them; for I could not think of my countrie and friends ruine without ſhareing of their fate, ſince it did not depend of me to put a ſtop to it. That I could not diſpenſe with myſelf from doeing ſo, having nothing but my Perſon to looſe, which I thought no great compliment to my countrie, haveing riſkt it ſo oftne for a tryfle during the late war. That I had nothing to fear but baniſhment, which I was alreadie no ſtranger to; or death, which would put ane end to all miſerie. But they had eſtates, wives, and children, and it was their buſineſs to know on what footing they imbarckt. Malcome ſaid, Then they would never imbarck, becauſe it was not proper all ſhould know the ſecret ſprings, for that was the great argument they made uſe of to deceave. I ſaid, I did not know who ought to know them, if ſome of us did not.

This, and a great deal more, was ſaid; ſome preſent being pleaſ'd and others diſpleaſ'd, as in all ſuch occaſions; and to encourage, Malcome told them of the North-ſide Lairds (for ſo we called them) goeing off in four or five days, and that it was believed by everie bodie that a ſhip loadned with armes and ammunition was landed in the North, which would make the Duke of Athole joyn and accept of a command under the Duke of Berwick; for Huntlie, being Catholick, was to pretend to none. In the meantime, Generals Hamilton and Gordon commanded all.

were tried for high treason, [15th] November 1708, for rising in arms and corresponding with the enemy's fleet intended to invade Scotland. Owing to the smallness of their number, and the unwillingness of the witnesses to say anything which might indicate the real purpose of their meeting, these gentlemen were acquitted. One witness, the butler of the Laird of Keir, was asked by his master how he had so suddenly forgotten some particulars when interrogated by the Crown lawyers? "I would rather trust," answered the domestic, "my own soul in the Lord's hands, than your Honor's body in those of the Whigs."

The names of thoſe Generalls were to be made uſe of on all occaſions, in caſe it ſhould be thought Mar would take the command, who durſt not then flatter himſelf that anie bodie had a notion of his conduct in war; for he was onlie to be lookt on as a meſſenger of credite and weight, who had ſo much good ſenſe and ſo great a fortune to looſe, he would not throw himſelf away idlie. Our meeting broke up without determineing anie-thing, onlie that we were to meet again in a few days.

It was before this, that the ſurpriſeing the Caſtle of Edinburgh had failed. I can't be poſitive who laid the ſcheme; but it was projected after the Queen's death, and gone into by ſome younge people about Edinburgh, who had ſcrewd themſelves into the belief that the King was then to land, at which time they were readie to put it in execution. But the hopes of that being over, through impatience to ſhew their diligence, they communicated it to a great many of their friends; and, as it is uſuall, everie new plotter was racking his brain how to improve the firſt ſcheme, to have a ſhare of the honour in caſe ane opportunitie offered, and thereby the meaſures of the whole project were more and more diſconcerted. And thus they continued untill the beginning of Auguſt 1715, that the intention of Lord Mar's goeing to the Highlands was publicklie known; and then thoſe who had been all alonge the principall contrivers of that affair thought there was no time to be loſt in comeing to a finall reſolution about the proper methods, and even in putting them to the tryell, applied themſelves to my Lord Mar, who encouraged it; becauſe, whatever the event might be, it dipt ſo manie who muſt be oblidged to refuge to him. My Lord Drummond, who, amongſt the many good qualities he has inherited of his familie, has that of imagining nothing can be well done except he has the management of it, would undertake the direction of all; and, for that effect, made choice of a little brokne merchant, Charles Forbes, a man according to his own heart, who was to be principall engineer and conductor of that affair. Thomas Arthur, who had formerlie been ane officer in the Caſtle, had, six months before, gained a ſerjeant, and brib'd a ſojer of the guarniſone;[1] the ſerjeant, when he'd have the guard, was to place that ſojer ſentrie at a poſt

[1] One serjeant, William Ainslie, and two privates, James Thomson and John Holland, were engaged in this scheme. Ainslie was afterwards hanged.

on the Caſtle wall, which they had agreed on. The ſentrie was to have a clew of ſmall cordes in his pocket, one end of which he was to throw down to thoſe who were to ſurpriſe the Caſtle, who were to tye it to a grapling iron, faſtned at the end of the ſcaladeing ladders, which he was to pull up and fix in the head of the wall or parapet. They propoſed to doe the work with fourſcore or nintie men, whereof fortie were to be Highlandmen, who were ſent to toun by my Lord Drummond about the time appointed, all by different roads, with orders to obey one Drummond of Bouhadie. Fiftie younge apprentices, advocates' ſervants, writers, and ſome ſervants to thoſe in the Government, were let into the ſecret, to make up the number to be imploy'd in the attack. At laſt, the ſerjeant letting them know the night he could ſerve them, and the time, the Weſt Kirk, a place under the Caſtle wall, was agreed on to be the place of rendevous, preciſelie at nine of the clock at night, where they were to come armed with piſtells and ſuords. They all mett at the place and hour appointed. Things haveing thus far ſucceeded to their wiſh, they, and it muſt be own'd reaſonablie, haveing brought it ſo great a length, reckoned themſelves ſure of their ſtroak; but the principall thing was ſtill wanting. They had imploy'd a fellow in the Caltone to make the ladders, which Mr Arthur and his brother, Doctor Arthur, were to mount the firſt, becauſe they knew the Caſtle beſt; and had brought the greateſt part of the ladders, with the grapling iron, alonge with them to the Weſt Kirk at the hour appointed; and Charles Forbes had takne it upon him to bring the reſt of the ladders preciſelie at the ſame hour, but inſtead of that, ſtay'd till after ten in the citie, drinkeing to good news from the Caſtle, while the others were waiteing impatientlie at the Weſt Kirk; for they had deſigned to begin the attack at ten, which being paſt, and receaveing no neus of Forbes or their ladders, not knowing what to doe, and afraid the ſentrie would looſe patience, or be relieved, ſcrambled up the rock, and poſted themſelves at the foot of the wall, with a reſolution, in all events, to ſtay there as longe as they could. And thus they continued till eleven of the clock, when, being out of all patience, and the ſentrie telling he was to be relieved at twelve, they made him pull up the grapling irone, in order to try if the ladders they had could doe; but, as they ſuſpected,

they found them above a fathome too ſhort; and in this ſituation did they continue untill half an hour after eleven, when the ſentrie perceaveing the rounds comeing about, called down to them, "God damn you all! you have ruined both yourſelves and me! Here comes the round I have been telling you of this hour, I can ſerve you no longer." And with that threw down the grapling iron, fired his piece, and called out "Enemie;" upon which everie man ſhifted for himſelf, the round fireing over the wall after them. And at this time, when the fireing from the wall hapned, Mr Forbes, the ingeneer, had onlie advanced to the back of Bareford's Parks, on the north ſide of the North Loch, with the reſt of the ladders, and could not been up in time before that ſentrie was to be reliev'd.

My Lord Juſtice-Clerck, haveing got a hint of the deſigne,[1] was the occaſion of that rounds goeing about, haveing given the Gouvernour the alarme, and at ſame time, with difficultie, got twelve men of the Burgers' Guard from the Magiſtrats of the toun, to goe without the walls, under the command of ane officer, who saw no bodie but two boys, who ſaid, they came there by chance, whome he took priſoners, together with ane old man, who had fallen from the rock.[2] But all agree, that had the ladders come in time, the Juſtice-Clerck's advertiſement had come too late; and blamed my Lord Drummond for the choiſe of his ingeneer. It was, I may ſay, miraculous, that ſo many keept the ſecret, or rather, that the Gouvernment was not ſooner informed by ſome indirect way or other; for they were ſo far from carrieing on their affairs privately, that a gentleman, who was not concerned, told me that he was in a houſe that evening where eighteen of them were drinking, and heard the hoſteſs ſay, they were poudering their hair to goe to the attack of the Caſtle.

It's to be thought, that the certaintie of the French King's death, which was brought us before anie act of hoſtilitie begun, would have diſconcerted

[1] By a letter, it was believed, from the wife of Dr Arthur. Sir Adam Cockburn of Ormiston was then Justice-Clerk.

[2] Captain MacLean, formerly an officer of James the VII. There were three youths taken,—Alexander Ramsay and George Boswell, writers in Edinburgh, and one Lesly, formerly page to the Duchess of Gordon.

my Lord Mar, who had founded his own plan, as well as his arguments, on the aſſiſtance that was to be ſent from France; and to thinking people, his not being ſo, would have diſcovered the fallacie of the whole. Generall Hamilton, who came from London with Mar, and who, I have heard ſay, knew nothing at all but what he told him, who he believed was of opinion for that time to deſiſt from the enterpriſe; and that Mar and he, who as yet were the onlie [perſons] who anything could be made out againſt, ought to goe for France, and waite another favourable opportunitie, rather than by perſiſting at ſo bad a conjuncture, be the certain ruine of their friends and cauſe. But his Lordſhip of Mar's views, being of another nature, opiniated their perſiſting, aſſureing poſitivelie, that to his certaine knowledge the Duke of Orleans, who, he ſaid, was a young prince, full of fire, and no worſe inclined to ſerve the King, would puſh that affair with more vigour than the old King, whoſe death was the happieſt thing could happne to us.

After the meeting of Aboyn, Mar returned to Indercauld's[1] houſe, who, becauſe his vaſſall for a ſmall part of his eſtate, as I have alreadie ſaid, he commanded to get the Fercharſons, his Clan, together in armes, to obey his orders. This gentleman, tho' as zealous as anie, but haveing had more occaſion to know his Lordſhip then others, did not amuſe himſelf with what his Lordſhip ſaid, refuſed to ſtir till the King's landing; and the meantime, being unwilling to make noiſe or ſtruggle, left his houſe to Mar, and retired to Aberdeen. He applied himſelf next to Inderie,[2] another of his vaſſalls, and the ſecond man of that Clan, who, not haveing ſo much to looſe as the other, was diſpoſed to riſe with the firſt; but would have

[1] Farquharson of Invercauld had great possessions in the head of Braemar, which, lying within the lordship so called, were held by him of the Earl of Mar, and so he was his feudal vassal. But as a chief of his own tribe, the Clan Ianla, he was of course independent of his feudal superior. Invercauld took arms afterwards, and became Colonel of a regiment of his own name, when he was taken at Preston.

[2] John Farquharson of Inverei, descended from a younger son of Finlay Mor Farquharson of Invercauld. The Inverei always consisted of bold daring men, and [had] a considerable command [influence?] amongst the tribe, though inferior to that of the Chief Invercauld.

nothing to doe with Mar, in ſpite of the intreaties of all his friends, till the Marquiſe of Huntlie, to whome he offered his ſervice, perſuaded him to ſubmit to obey my Lord Mar, who, he ſaid, was the laſt man in Scotland who he'd chooſe to follow. His Lordſhip haveing thus gained him, offered him the command of all his men, thinking, by his means, to raiſe the whole Clan Fercharſone; but to no purpoſe, for neither he [n]or his Lordſhip had influence enough to bringe out above a hundred, or a few more, out of Brae Mar. By this time the Earle of Linlithgow,[1] and Viſcount of Kilſeyth,[2] tuo of thoſe Peers, who, in the end of the Queen's reigne owed their obligations of being choſen of the ſixteen to Mar, came and joyned him. The firſt of thoſe Lords ſpoke a good dale of his intereſt, tho' it never appeared amongſt us; becauſe, he ſaid, he could not bring his friends to us from the ſouth ſide of Forth. The other had no pretenſions to that, but had ſeverall qualifications that fitted him for Mar's purpoſe, the chief of which was, his being poor and deſperate, his debauches and extravagance haveing left him nothing but his title of Viſcount; ſo it may be believed his equipage was very ſmall, and his attendants verie few, to be helpfull to us, which conſiſted onlie of tuo ſervants; but, in revenge, his complaiſance was very great to my Lord Mar, who was to ſupport him at the expence of the publick, as was the caſe of a great many others who bore ſpecious titles.

However, this was founded in our ears, and through the whole countrie, that tuo Peers, with great numbers, had alreadie joyned Mar; and the news of armes and officers being come, was repeated on all occaſions. Theſe, and a great many as groundleſs reports, wrought ſo much on thoſe of the eaſt and north parts of the countie of Fife, that they ſent to tell me they were goeing off. They got over the Tay, moſt of them at little blind ferries, and were not in all fortie. Some ſkulkt in the borders of the Highlands for ſome time, there being no fourage where Mar was,

[1] James fourth Earl of Callendar and fifth Earl of Linlithgow. He was attainted for his share in this unfortunate insurrection.

[2] William, [second son of Sir James Livingston, raised to the Peerage as Viscount of Kilsyth in 1661. His brother, James, having died unmarried in the year 1706, he succeeded to the titles and estates as third Viscount of Kilsyth.]

and a few of them joyned him Barafield, a gentleman from the weſt, whoſe domeſtick affairs being in diſorder, engaged earlier than was to be expected of a man of his ſenſe, was ſent, after joyning, to my Lord Panmure and Mr Hary Maule, Mar's tuo uncles, upon whome his Lordſhip's letters could have no influence; the Earle of Panmure, as I was told by Barafield, haveing ſent back a great many, with the higheſt contempt, without opening them; and even when Barafield ſpoke to both, they ſaw nothing but racks and gibets before them; its to be imagined they knew their nephew. He got orders to waite of the Earle of Strathmore,[1] a younge gentleman of eighteen years old, who had the moſt good qualities, and feueſt vices, of any younge man I ever ſaw: the buſineſs was to get him to proclaim the King at Dundee and Forfar, haveing great intreſt both in theſe toûns and the countrie about, being of ane ancient noble familie. While Alexander Maitland,[2] uncle to Southeſque, a forward man, and through everie action of whoſe life a great ſtrain of madneſs ran, which generally ſucceeded better with him than could been expected, was to puſh Southeſque, his nephew, (who needed a more prudent gouvernour to adviſe him, being not much older than Strathmore,) to proclaime at Montroſe, another royall burrough, in the countie of Angus. Mar haveing thus ſet all his engines to work far and near, knew very well that the dipping of thoſe tuo orphants was not onlie that of all their nighbourhood and the whole countie, but that it would be lookt on everie where as a ſignall of the King's arrivall, by thoſe who his emiſſaries had prepared to expect him daylie, or at leaſt the Duke of Berwick; and people's ſpirits being up; on that ſuppoſition, his, and their proclaiming at the ſame time, would make the Low Countrie, as well as the Highlandmen, joyn him at once, who, notwithſtanding their promiſes, were very ſlow, or rather, were not like to move.

In the mean time, the Marquiſe of Tullibardine, a modeſt, good-natured, younge gentleman, who he had gaind by paying his debts at London,

[1] John, fifth Earl of Strathmore, a gallant young nobleman, killed at Sheriffmuir.

[2] Son of the third Earl of Lauderdale, and brother to Mary, Countess of Southesque.

with the aſſiſtance of his brothers, Lord Charles and Lord George Murrays, and their uncle, Lord Nairne, was endeavouring to bring over the Athole men, who were naturallie well inclined to the cauſe, but were afraid of their maſter, the Duke of Athole, and deſired that at leaſt that regarde ſhould be had to him, that he ſhould be ſpoke to.

Mar haveing nothing to ſay to him but lies, and a great or a little one being equallie eaſy, ſent Lieut.-Colonell Hay, his brother-in-law, to offer him, from the King, the command of the armie under the Duke of Berwick, requireing of him to get his men together, and proclaime the King in three days. The Duke anſuered, It was ſtrange, if the King deſigned him anie commiſſion, he had not ſent it directlie to himſelf; and if there was anie ſuch thing, that my Lord Mar had not communicated it to him ſooner, till, after brigueing ſo longe in the countrie, and debauching his children, and ſetting up his own familie againſt him, and then requireing him, on ſo ſhort ane advertiſement, without further enquirie, to appear in armes, as if it were conditionell, if he were to take the command, Mar was to be his gouvernour. He ſaid, Theſe were circumſtances that did not pleaſe him, and deſired to be excuſed. I won't pretend to determine that the Duke of Athole would have joyned; but I can ſay that, to my certaine knowledge, no Scots man was more forward to venture his all than his Grace was at the makeing of the Union, where he acted the part of a worthie and noble patriot; and it's evident, as well by Mar's meſſage to him as his Grace's anſuer, that Mar did not treat him as a man of that conſequence ought to be, and, for his own ends, did not want he ſhould joyn; which is proven further by his ſending Collonell Hay to him, the man on earth the moſt unacceptable to him, who had been Mar's tool dureing the Torie miniſtrie in makeing ane intereſt againſt him in the elections of the ſhire of Pearth, to no effect but chagrineing him, no more than the lyes and calumnies he and others ſpread of him at that time. It's certaine, he was of that conſequence that he'd done more in one day, in raiſeing the Highlands, than Mar did in tuo months; and had been maſter of the Bridge of Striveling before the Gouvernment could takne their precautions; and, without alarming by proclaiming, lying, and truckling, at one pull carried all the Highlands, as well as thoſe of the Low Countrie after him;

but then Mar would not had the honour of being known in the world; who all this time had got nobodie to joyn him. But being informed that Strathmore and Southeſque were readie to proclaime, ſo ſoon as he did, in deſpair he ſet up the Royall ſtandard, and proclaimed at Kirkmichell, when he had not in all above tuo hundred men with him, both of his own and thoſe who had joyned him; while he was dreading every minute the Duke of Athole would attack him, the fear of which made him poſt ſentries in all the paſſes of the hills, to give him time to retire to the Weſt Highlands, where he could hide himſelf till he made his eſcape to France; for all that the Marquiſe of Tullibardine could as yet obtaine of the Athole men was not to follow his father in that deſigne.

The Earle of Linlithgow, being the onlie man of qualitie there, except Kilſeyth, got the command of tuentie horſe, of all ſortes, which was all they could make up then, to guard the ſtandard, and was the firſt riſe of that ſquadron, afterwards known by the name of the Royall Squadron.

This no ſooner done, than expreſſes were ſent to all the Low Countrie about, affirming that eight thouſand men had alreadie joyned my Lord Mar; upon which Strathmore and Southeſque, with the gentlemen of Angus, proclaimed in the three towns alreadie mentioned.

The more the number hookt in by theſe methods increaſed, the greater the ferment grew, and the more people he had to lie for him, who now made it their own cauſe. By their help the Earle of Panmure, who hitherto had reſiſted all with ſteadieneſs, was made believe the King was landed in England; and that being confirmed to him different ways, as if without deſigne, and from people of undoubted credite, (for he had no regarde to what came directlie from Mar,) he thought he was too longe of proclaiming the King in Brechin, a royall burrough, in his nighbourhood, and accordingly did it without further heſitation.

But it muſt be owned the Gouvernment contributed moſt to Mar's project, by the Act of the Brittiſh Parliement made at that time; which, being put in execution ſpeedilie after it paſt, fiftie of the moſt active or moſt conſiderable Lords and Gentlemen were cited, ſome to render themſelves in fifteen days, and others in fortie, according to the diſtance they lived from Edinbourgh, under the pain of forfaulture of their liferent eſcheat. All

thoſe were buoy'd up to the laſt day of their citations by the great pains Mar and his emiſſaries took to make them expect the King daylie, or, at leaſt, the Duke of Berwick, with great ſecours from France; and no bodie, in that great ferment of ſpirits, and great expectation, careing to give bad exemple by delivering up himſelf firſt, they were at laſt all caught in the ſame nooſe, their time being elapſed, and no place left to repent; or, like the Stirveling-ſhire gentrie, who hapning to live too nere Stirveling, where ſome few troops were aſſembled, the chief of whome were cited, and fearing that they were more in the eye of the Gouvernment then others, becauſe of their forwardneſs on the former threatned deſcent, and that they would not be allowed to live quietlie to the laſt day of their ſummons, choſe, rather than live in that hurrie, to take refuge in the Highlands, where they carried ſome of their friends with them, and made in all tuentie horſe. But it's certaine moſt were undetermined, even to the laſt minute, amongſt whome was Mr Hary Maule, brother to Panmure, and uncle to Mar, who was tuentie miles in his road ſouthward, to deliver himſelf up, when he was met by a certaine man whoſe integritie was not to be doubted of, who aſſured him that the Gouvernment had intercepted letters to him from beyond ſea, which, if he delivered himſelf up at ſuch a time, could not miſs to coſt him his life. Mar found ane abſolute neceſſitie of impoſeing on his uncle in this manner, being the man of the whole partie whoſe exemple moſt of people would have folloued, all haveing a good opinion of him. So, at the expence of his uncle, he adroitlie turned that which would have been his greateſt miſfortune to his greateſt advantage; and, without further balancing, returned from that place where the gentleman met him, and joyned Mar, who drew another advantage from it, which was, informing the publick, that tho' Mr Maule, till then, had determined not to joyn, yet, by letters of a freſh date he had receaved from beyond ſea, he was at laſt convinced all was goeing well. Therefor, others out of ſimplicitie, others, whoſe great zeale would not allow to think, "Crimen ac dolum altius non ſcrutati, more majus quam judicio, poſt alius alium, quaſi prudentiorem ſecuti." (Tacit. Hiſt. 1mo.; Saluſt, 1mo.; Orat. ad Cæſar.) "Pecorum ritu, ſequentes antecedentium gregem, ac pergentes non qua eundem eſt, ſed qua itur." (Senec. de Vit. Beata.) It's incomprehen-

ſible to conceave how the ſtorie of the eight thouſand men's joyning Mar was ſuallowed down by thoſe who knew that all the men of the Highlands together, who we had anie reaſon to believe for us, could not exceed that number. But then there were ſo many friends engaged, it was treaſon to doubt the truth of it; and that armes and all neceſſaries of war were landed, for, ſaid they, without that how would ſo many engage? "A pleriſque veritatis inveſtigatio negligitur; dum ea potius quæ magis in promptu ſunt, confectantur, et quoquo modo audita pro compertis habent." (Thucid. and out of him Tacit. 3tio. Annal.) "Mavult unuſquiſque credere, quam judicare: quo fit ut verſat multos præcipitatque traditus per manus error, alieniſque perimus exemplis." (Senec. de Vit. Beata.)

Thoſe of the Whig partie in the toun of Pearth keept the Tories ſtill under, haveing diſarmed them more by the authoritie of the Magiſtrats, who were Whigs, then by their ſuperioritie or number, but were not a little alarmed at the report of my Lord Mar's haveing got ſo many men together, fear haveing the ſame effect on them which hopes had on us, by makeing both equallie blind, and equallie credulous. They addreſſed themſelves to the Duke of Athole, the onlie man of their nighbourhood who was able to aſſiſt them, or who they had the leaſt reaſon to truſt, and not haveing ane intire truſt in him neither, or doubting his Highlandmen, I can't tell whether, they would take no more then tuo hundred. And, on the other hand, they ſent to the Earle of Rothes, Sherrife and Lord Lieutenant of the countie of Fife, begging his aide with the poſſe-comitatus, being a man very active and firm to their partie, and very well provided with armes, both of his own and five hundred he had of late got from the Gouvernment, with a good quantitie of amunition. He had not been wanting before to promiſe them his aſſiſtance, and was at pains enough to make good his promiſe, and iſſued out ane order for all the fenſible men of the Countie to meet him at a place called Caſhmoor. The gentlemen took no notice of his orders, nor did the commons, except thoſe who the miniſters forced to goe to the place of rendevouſe, to the number of fifeteen hundred mob, and all that their outmoſt diligence could perform. But thoſe of that countie haveing been taught, by their experience, that it is not good medling with edged tools, eſpeciallie in the hands of Highlandmen, were very averſe from take-

ing armes. No ſooner they reflected on the name of the place of rende-vouze, Caſhmoor, than Tippermoor was called to mind, a place not far from thence, where Montroſe had formerlie routed them, under the command of my great-granduncle, the Earle of Wemyſs, then Generall of God's armie. In a word, the unluckie choiſe of a place called moor, appeared ominous, and that, with the flying report of the Highlandmen's haveing made themſelves maſters of Pearth, made them throw doun their armes and run, notwithſtanding the trouble that Rothes and his miniſters gave themſelves to ſtop them. In the meantime, the ſtorie of Pearth being takne, was not without foundation ; for the Toric burgers, who were conſiderable in that place, being animated with the neus of my Lord Mar's being ſo ſtronge, begun to caball ; and after feeling the tuo hundred Highlandmen's pulſes, or at leaſt their pulſes who commanded them, ſent to Liutennant-Coll. Hay, ſon to my Lord Kinnoule, in their nighbourhood, to let him know, that if he could get anie number of men together, and come to their aſſiſtance, they would revolt, and deliver him up the toun, ſince there was nothing to be feared from the Highlandmen.

He aſſembled moſt of the gentlemen of the countie of Fife who were ſkulking in Pearthſhire, who made the greateſt part of the cavalcade, and, with a very few of thoſe of Pearthſhire who joyned, they made up fortie horſe; the laſt being ſtill backward, in ſpite of their great talking and big words, which had rouzed the Fife gentlemen, when they themſelves were very tranquille, being well informed how ſloulie things were goeing on with Mar, becauſe of their nighbourhood to the Highlands; but what they had done to the Fife gentlemen turned againſt themſelves, who, haveing now retired from their own homes, thought they were too guiltie to loock back, and were very aſſiduous in dipping them. Noe ſooner Collonell Hay appeared with the fortie horſe on the other ſide the Tay, then the Torie burgers, who expected them, revolted, ſeiſed the boats in the ſight of the other partie and Magiſtrats, who drew up under armes, but durſt not ſtir, for fear of the Highlandmen, while their adverſaries were bringing the gentlemen over the river, which is there about tuo hundred yards broad. The Whigs made no difficultie in delivering up their armes, which were given to the Tories; and ſome of them road poſt to Edinbourgh to inform

the Gouvernment; all of thoſe, as we were told, aſſureing poſitivelie there were ſome thouſand Highlandmen got into Pearth.

By ſo manie concurrent accidents did Pearth fall in the hands of our people, without his Lordſhip of Mar's knouledge, which, if we had not got poſſeſſion of, his whole deſigne muſt have proven abortive, for there was no other place where ane armie could been formed. And had Rothes, with his Fife mob, who were well armed, got into Pearth, however defenceleſs that place was, I am of opinion that our Highlandmen, who had not one graine of pouder then, nor for a good time after, till chance threw it in our way, which it could not done without the takeing of that toun, would have been at a loſs to attack it, at leaſt till their numbers had grown very much greater then they were for a conſiderable time afterwards; even tho' their aſſembling was not onlie facilitate by the takeing of that toun, but depended intirelie on it, and, after all, a ſtronge preſumption contributed not a little to it; for the Laird of Gay, who commanded the one half of the Highlandmen, not dareing to impart the ſecret to the other, chooſe rather to ſteall the flints, in the nick of time, out of the other hundred's armes. The toun being takne, there was nobodie to reinforce thoſe few gentlemen and burgers who were in it. My Lord Mar being ſtill in the ſame circumſtance, and as uncertaine of his own fate as ever; the Athole men ſtill ballanceing betwixt the Duke and his ſons, Tullibardine, Lord Charles and Lord George Murrays, with their uncle, Lord Nairne, who had a great intreſt with his brother's vaſſalls; Liutennant-Collonell Hay, brother-in-law to Mar, took upon him the command of the place; and all being made believe that Mar had ſo many thouſands with him, he pretended to write to his Lordſhip to ſend him a reinforcement of ſome hundreds, which my Lord's anſuer made him, and thoſe with him, expect was to joyn them everie moment.

In the meantime Mar got younge Strathmore, who was very alerte, to raiſe tuo hundred Low Countrie men, and march to Pearth, with ſuch armes as they had, all more for ſhew and countenance then uſe. Thoſe were no ſooner got into toun than all were ſatiffied they were ſtronge enough; and a report being ſpread of the Duke of Argyle's comeing to attack them, they reſolved to ſtand it, with the tools they had,

and the few pounds of pouder they pickt up in the toun, which I don't believe were above five or ſix.

The Duke of Argyle, who came down from London to take the command of the troopes, had gone to Striveling ſome days before, where he found aſſembled the few regiments [that] were in the countrie. The noiſe of the great numbers that had joyned Mar in the Highlands, attended with the ſucceſs that our folks had in getting into Pearth, and the great numbers that the Whigs themſelves, who came from thence, ſaid were alreadie got into that toun, improven by daylie meſſages from our friends there, rouzed thoſe of our countie, ſo that they thought they were too longe of joyning; and, I believe, left the Duke of Argyle no hopes of the poſſibilitie of recovering Pearth by any detachment he could make from Stirveling out of that handful he had there. For, could he doubt of what thoſe of his owne partie, of the beſt credite of that place, aſſured him of? The reaſon was, that thoſe in a countrie like ours, who were not uſed to war, and conſequentlie to ſee any number of men together, with the terrour that was upon them, imagined everie hundred men to be a thouſand. So circumſtances being thus magnified, as well by ignorance as induſtrie, thoſe with whome I was concerned would hear reaſon no more. I may truelie ſay, that at this time I had no better opinion of the whole affair then I had before. The ſame reaſons ſtill ſubſiſting, which to me ſeemed unanſuerable, I endeavoured to diſſuade them from what they had reſolved. I did, amongſt the reſt, tell them, That if there had been no other objection againſt that deſigne than that of the unfitneſs of the then head and leader of it, even that alone was, in my opinion, a ſufficient reaſone to withdraw all conſidering men from a thought of it: They had all, as well as I, a juſt notion, or rather a certaine knowledge, of that noble Lord's caracter and practice upon all the occaſions that occurred in his time; they knew, from the various turns and windings of his life, that his intereſt was his leading ſtar, and that it was a rule with him to ſacrifiſe all faith and friendſhip to it, and much more us, to whome he never had the leaſt tye of friendſhip. I lay'd all this before them; and that, from his utter want of all experience and knowledge of the great part he had takne upon him, it ſeemed to me pretty evident, that the ſucceſs of that cauſe was not

what he had in view; but that his deſigne was rather, when ane opportunitie offered, to make his market at Court, by giveing up both the cauſe and all that adhered to it; or, at our expence, make himſelf paſs for a great man abroad, haveing not the leaſt hopes left of ſupporting himſelf at home: and if the little force he had for ſo great ane enterpriſe, and the little influence which he knew he had upon all men of diſtinction or pouer in the countrie; and if all he did, or attempted to doe, be duelie conſidered, this conjecture will perhaps appear not altogether improbable. It is true theſe gentlemen could not intirelie get over the diffidence they had of this noble Lord, but they contented themſelves with a report, induſtriouſlie handed by his partizans amongſt them, that his onlie aime was to put all in readineſs againſt the Duke of Berwick's comeing, who was hourlie expected, a man indeed beyond all exception, and everie way preferable, to this enterprizing Lord. I muſt own I could not concur with them in the opinion, that ſo great a perſone would venture his reputation upon ſo deſperate ane enterprize. And, after I had on this head, and other good objections, keept them for ſome days in ſuſpence, in hopes that, upon a due conſideration of all things, they'd come to a ſenſe of the deſperate affair they had in hand: In the mean time, I adviſed them to ſend one of their number to Pearth to know the truth of what was reported, for I gave no credite to all the flying ſtories our folks had ſpread. Accordinglie one was ſent, who got his leſſon there, and confirmed all, and a great dale more, if poſſible: armes and pouder were landed; and the Earle of Mar, who was expected everie day at Pearth, was waiteing the King and Duke of Berwick's comeing with impatience. The day after this meſſenger returned, another was ſent us from Pearth with the ſame packet. All this while my friends of the county of Fife, who were alreadie got into Pearth, were curſing me for a very ill man, becauſe I retarded their nighbours; Malcome, and all, haveing made a faithfull report to Mar of what I had ſaid of him.

> "Hinc mihi prima mali labes; hinc ſemper Ulyſſes
> Criminibus terrere novis; hinc ſpargere voces
> In vulgum ambiguas, et quærere conſcius arma."
>
> (Virgilius, Æneid 2.)

But to return to thoſe with whome I had been ſo longe treating; they came at laſt to a peremptorie reſolution, and ſent one of their number to me, and told me they had weigh'd all things, and were reſolved to goe on, and deſired me to meet them next morning, tuo hours before day, at Achtertoole, a place of rendevouze equallie convenient for us all. I anſuered, I would, ſince I had promiſed, and was one of the firſt there. Amongſt other reaſons that determined me, they had oftne told me, If I would not goe with them, it was to ly at my door that they had chooſe a leader of ſome other familie to head them. I muſt ingenuouſlie confeſs, I was not able to ſtand the reproach of haveing deprived my familie of ſo honourable a ſupport and intereſt in my countrie, and that I therefor reſolved to take my fate with them. When we were all met we made fiftie horſe, of which number was Mr Francois Steuart, brother to the Earle of Murray. Before we begun our marche, I could not hinder myſelf to tell ſeveralls of them, That tho' it was then too late to look back, they'd remember that I told them that we were goeing to our ruine. That very day's marche confirmed me more and more, for of thoſe fiftie horſe there was oftne tuo miles betwixt front and rear. Severall gentlemen came and met us from Pearth, and told us of the horſe being drawn up in the South Inch; which, at our approaching, we found were about our own number, and a great part of them our own countrie people.

Mr Francois Steuart and I being invited to the Gouvernour's to ſup, I was very inquiſitive about the ſituation of the place, which, they ſaid, was ſtronge. As to our affairs, all was impudentlie confirmed, except that they could not deny their number in Pearth was ſmall, conſiſting of a hundred horſe, with what I brought alonge with me, and tuo hundred Low Countrie men, who, I knew, were not at all uſed to armes, and fiftie Highlandmen, of thoſe who came firſt into Pearth by the Duke of Athole's order; for the others, according to their laudable cuſtome, had gone home. I met with Collonell Urchard, a gentleman who had ſerved all the laſt war in the armie, and ſeeing him the onlie man who knew ſervice there, I beg'd of him we might goe round the toun in the morning; for, except Major Balfour, no other there had anie pretenſions to ſervice, which he had left above tuentie-five years, a longe enough time to forget it, haveing ſerved amongſt the horſe,

and all the others ſpoke nonſenſe, impudentlie, as if with one tongue. Coll. Urchard brought Smith of Methvine alonge with him. In our goeing round the toun, I aſkt the Collonell, who had been longer there then I, If, in caſe the Duke of Argyle ſhould come, they deſigned to defend it with the ſmall number that was in it? He ſaid, They ſeemed not to doubt of defending it. I aſkt him, What he thought of it? He ſaid, He did not know what to think of it. I told him, I thought we needed a greater guarniſone, for the place was of a large circuit. I found the greateſt half of the toun, where there was ane old ſtone wall, might be made prittie tenible, by louering the wall, which was very high in ſome places, to breaſt high, ſo that with louering it, and raiſeing of foot-banks, it might give us a parapet to fire over. He ſaid, He was of my opinion. When we came to the gates, I found they had made great new gates of firr planks, which filled the whole arches of the gates, where the walls nere the gates were of vaſt hight, and no place to ſtand nere them to defend them; and tho' there were, the ſuburbs comeing up cloſe to three parts, covered the attackers all the way till under the ports, which, like ane ordinarie door, would be ſoon forced with a forehammer, and all that without the loſs of one man, till they were within the toun; ſo it was my opinion they ſhould reduce thoſe gates to barriers, which were to be defended, and give us the ſame front with our attackers, who muſt, by that means, be expoſed to our fire as they came alonge the ſtreets of the ſuburbs; and make ſeverall traverſes behind theſe barriers, in caſe we were beat from them. He ſaid, He was intirelie of my opinion; and fell a laughing at the cloſe gates, which took away all defence from us. At laſt we came to the open ſide of the toun, which is towards the South Inch, where there was no cover or defence. I was told it was thought that ſide was not attackable, becauſe it had a ditch full of water, ſeven foot deep, for three foot in the middle onlie, and not ten foot over. I aſkt, Whither three [or] four truſſes of ſtraw, out of the next corn-yard, would not make it paſſable? Both the Collonell and Methvine agreed it would, and for that reaſon I propoſed lines ſhould be begun to, as ſoon as poſſible, to cover all that ſide of the toun. Collonell Urchard acquieſced to all, and propoſed I ſhould goe and ſpeak about it to Lieut.-Collonell Hay, who was Gouvernour. I bid him goe alonge with me,

which he refuſed, ſaying, He was goeing out of the toun, and my ſpeaking would have the ſame effect, ſince I could tell it was his ſentiment as well as mine; his naturall modeſtie not allowing him to take upon him, and the rather, that he knew it would not be well takne. For Methvine told me then, that, being ſent by my Lord Mar to be aſſiſting to Collonell Hay, who was a young lad, who ſtood much in need of advice, being latelie come from ſchoole, and haveing bought, before the Queen's death, a companie in the foot-guards, where all the ſervice he had done was to have mounted the guard once or tuice at St James's, was now turned ſo vaine of his title of Collonell, and that of Gouvernour, that he took no notice of Collonell Urchard; who, finding himſelf ſo uſeleſs there, was to goe with him to his countrie houſe. Then we begun to ſpeak of the guarniſone; and we found we had a hundred gentlemen and ſervants, without carabines, who could be of no uſe in the defence of a place, and tuo hundred Low Countrie men, with old ruſtie muſketts, who had never fired one in their lives, and without pouder and flints, with about fiftie Highlandmen no better accoutred. I went ſtraight to Collonell Hay, and told him I had been makeing the round of the toun with Urchard, and that it was both our opinions that the place was not at all tenible by a far greater number then ours, even tho' they were ſupplied with neceſſaries for a defence. But, in the mean time, till thoſe numbers or neceſſaries came, it would be proper to put our affairs in the beſt poſture we could, and looſe no time to make the place as ſtronge as poſſible. That it would be neceſſarie Generall Hamilton ſhould come there, if it were but for one day, to give his directions about it; if otherwiſe, I'd undertake to make it a great dale ſtronger then it was; and if Generall Hamilton thought fit afterwards to fortifie it in earneſt, as I was certaine he would, as much as the ſituation of the place, or our circumſtances could admit of, I'd undertake it ſhould not be worſe for what I ſhould doe; for I was poſitive nobodie ever pretended to make war without haveing ſome placed armes to retreat to in caſe of a miſfortune, and where we might keep our ſtores and magazines, when we marched from thence, and keep a communication with the North, and the ſea touns on the north coaſt. All this was gibberiſh to him; and he appeared very much ſurpriſed at what I ſaid, and wiſht I had been in the

toun before the gates were made, and the fiftie horſe that came in with me, which, he ſaid, was a conſiderable reinforcement; For, ſaid he, we were then reſolved to ſtand it; and that, with his uſual diſdainfull laugh, after makeing a fine ſpeech. I had no longer patience, and ſaid, It ſeems they were reſolved to play the foole, but I did not think that was a reaſon for our doeing ſo now, for that would be building on a falſe foundation, and on their follies; for neither his gates, of which we were the worſe, or his whole hundred gentlemen, were of any uſe, without carabines, in the defence of a toun, or, for what I ſaw, his Low Countrie men either; I was of opinion, yea, I was certaine, that they, like all people who never had been tryed, might ſtood till the danger was nere, and then their naturall fear would opened their eyes, and furpriſed them ſo with ſhewing them their wants, that it muſt have ended in running away; as the Weſt Countrie mobs had done at Argyle's Road and Bothwell Bridge, being juſt ſo buoy'd up by the Whig miniſters; which appear'd moſt ridiculous to us in them, but our ſelf-love and weakneſs did not allow us to diſcover it in ourſelves. I aſſured him, ſince I ſaw them obdured, I would not make a foole of myſelf, nor betray thoſe who truſted me, and, on the firſt approach of the enemie, would carrie off all who came with me to the Highlands, and joyn the firſt bodie I could find of our people; nor would I give myſelf airs of doeing a thing that I ſaw was impracticable, and downright madneſs.

He, not knouing what to make of me, and finding his reaſons had no weight, ſent for old Collonell Balfour, brother to Major Balfour, a gentleman I have alreadie mentioned, who was one of his adviſers, a worthie, honeſt man, and had ſerved in his youthe, a volunteer in Germanie, at the ſiege of Brunſwick, about fiftie years before, and afterward advanced in the Scot's armie at home, which he quitted at the Revolution. I hope it will be no tache on that gentleman to ſay, that he could know little of a trade which he never ſaw much of, and which has been not a little improven ſince he ſerved. He told, Brunſwick was not ſo ſtronge when it made a vigorous defence for a conſiderable time, I forgot how longe. I told him, I had ſeen Brunſwick before it was fortified laſt, and aſſured him it admitted of no manner of compariſon; beſides, he owned himſelf, there was no compariſone as to the numbers of the defendants, for ane armie within a place

will always make it ſtronge, which makes Rab[e]lais ſay, "Que le rampart des couilles eſt le plus fort." And that place being one of the greateſt touns in Germanie, could not be defended without a great armie. But he teaſed me ſo much, that I was forced to tell the good old man, by all I could judge, he had ſerved when bous and arrows were in faſhion. I took Lieut.-Coll. Hay aſide, and aſkt him ſeriouſlie, If it was reallie out of ignorance that he was ſo ſtiff, or onlie to encourage in the mean time, that he gave out that place was to be defended without armes, pouder, or men; for if it was onlie to encourage, I would put the beſt face on it I could for the time, till I ſaw the danger approach; but then, he might depend upon it, I would marche off to the Highlands, with all that came with me. He ſaid, If I went the whole would follow, and all would be diſcouraged; and our armie could never form if we loſt that place. I aſkt him, Why he would not ſuffer all to be put in the beſt poſture of defence that was poſſible, by working day and night at the place to make it more tenible; and ſending to my Lord Mar for more men, ſince he had ſo many with him, and particularlie for pouder? He ſaid, We had pouder enough, and were expecting more. I ſaid, If no pouder was pouder enough, he was right. At laſt we went round the toun, together with his greateſt adviſer, Peter Smith, who he had made Major de la Place. I made them obſerve all the weakneſs of the place, and told him of Coll. Urchard's reaſoning and mine, to no purpoſe, for Mr Smith, who, all the world, as well as his brother Methvine, owns to be a madman, and who, after being a chirurgeon, and carrieing a clyſter-bag for ſome years in the armie, was at the peace advanced to be ane Enſign, was now turned ſo great a ſojer, that with his uſuall noiſe and nonſenſe, there was no bearing of him; and if he ſaw a window, or anie peeping hole of a garret, at anie diſtance, he ſuore that was enough to defend the poſt. I ſoon turned ſick of that work, and got rid of them, not being able to ſtand it longer, being more and more confirmed in my opinion of all that affair, and diſcovering clearlie the ruine of my poor Countrie in the hands of ſuch people, of whoſe management it was impoſſible to preſage good.

All this paſt in a week after takeing of the toun; and notwithſtanding my Lord Mar had proclaimed ſome weeks before; he was not, as yet,

in a capacitie to affiſt or reinforce us with any detachment, tho' they gave him out to be four or five thouſand men ſtronge; for, like a perſpective, his beautie conſiſted in the diſtant views, and the nearer we came to him the fewer we found his numbers, and the greater his imperfections. But in realitie he was not yet ſo many hundreds; which, moſt carefullie, was keept up from us. In the mean time, a report was ſpread of the Duke of Argyle's comeing to attack us. I perſiſted in my firſt opinion of goeing off to the Highlands to joyn Mar, on the Duke's approach; and told now, plainlie, I had come out to ſerve my Countrie to the beſt of my knouledge, and to pleaſe no man on earth would I do otherwiſe, ſince I knew very well that if they pretended to ſtand it, the toun would be takne, and we takne in it, like ſcoundrells, without being in a condition to ſtrike one ſtroake for our lives or honours, and loſe ſo many men and horſes to no purpoſe. Coll. Hay thought himſelf obliged to come to me, and tell me that I diſcouraged people. I aſkt him, If takeing the neceſſarie precautions to make the place more tenible could have that effect? He ſaid, It would; for they were ſatiffied it was aboundantlie ſtronge, and that I was not to think they were always to ſtay in that toun. That anſuer deſerving no return, I aſkt him, If ſending for a reinforcement to Mar would diſcourage? He bid me goe alonge with him and he'd ſhew me a letter he had wrote to Mar, which he'd ſend away that moment, and if I pleaſed I might write a poſtcript; which I did, and told his Lordſhip, if he did not ſend us a ſtronge reinforcement it was impoſſible to ſtand it. All this while he had nobodie to ſend; and to give him his due, was doeing all he could to raiſe the Atholemen, and everie bodie elſe; and by all his letters was makeing us expect him everie day with a great armie; and order'd that no horſe ſhould come up to him, becauſe there was no fourage; which, I own, was not plentie there; but I underſtood that to be calculated for me. At laſt, after all this great expectation, Struan Robertſon came to us with tuo hundred and fiftie Highlandmen.

The report ſtill continuing of the Duke of Argyle's being to marche towards us, and I not changeing my firſt reſolution, Struan's men being very badlie armed, and no pouder amongſt us all, Coll. Hay fell on a

ſtratagem which he thought would doe the work; he called about tuelve of the gentlemen together of thoſe he thought fit, and deſired me to be there; he named our meeting a Councill of War; if it was ſo, I'm perſuaded the moſt ignorant Councill of War that ever was held ſince the Creation. It was no difficult matter to make thoſe he had pickt imagine the place impregnable at this time, when they had tuice the number, when they thought ſo before with the half: Old Collonell Balfour aſſureing them he could defend it againſt ten thouſand of the beſt men of the Allies armie, in theſe very terms. I left them, without almoſt opneing my mouth, to let them enjoy their own opinion; not being the more convinced of their ſtanding it, that they talkt ſo big. I knew the want of pouder was more than enough to diſcourage anie bodie from that, tho' I had not known the men. But I could not know then to what to attribute the willfullneſs of not takeing the neceſſarie precautions, (for nothing could have diſcouraged ane enemie ſo much from comeing to attack us, as the noiſe of our haveing fortified ourſelves,) except to Collonell Hay's weakneſs, who, I imagined, was jealous of thoſe who give him advice, as if they encroached on his ſpeciall prerogative, a fault common to ſuch vaine, poor, creatures, to whome Nature has neither given ſoule or bodie: "Scilicet in tenero tenerascere corpore mentem." However bad opinion I had of the buſineſs, it never enterd into my head that all that folloued was to be of a piece with this pattern; and that pouder, arms, and fortifieing, were poſtulates, that, if granted neceſſarie, would overturn their futur ſcheme, which was to be carried on with nothing but lyes.

"Illa tibi eſt igitur verborum copia caſſa
Omnis, quæ contra ſenſus inſtructa, parata 'ſt.
Denique ut in fabrica, ſi prava 'ſt regula prima;
Normaque ſi fallax rectis regionibus exit;
Et libella aliqua ſi ex parti claudicat hilum:
Omnia mendoſe fieri, atque obſtipa neceſſum 'ſt,
Prava, cubantia, prona, ſupina, atque abſona tecta;
Jam ruere ut quædam videantur velle; ruantque,
Prodita judiciis fallacibus omnia primis.

Sic igitur ratio tibi rerum prava, neceſſe 'ſt,
Falſaque ſit, falſis quæcunque ab ſenſibus orta 'ſt."
Lucretius, lib. 4to.

At this time the Earle of Southeſque came to Pearth with about thirtie horſe from Angus, and a hundred and fiftie Low Countrie foot. A good humor haveing now takne Coll. Hay, he ſent to me to tell me that I might make what changes about the place I pleaſed. I anſuered, I was very indifferent, for the way they were goeing to work what changes I could make would be to no purpoſe; houever, if they would order in the countrie people about, with ſhovells and mattocks, I'd ſet them to work to make lines on that open ſide of the toun towards the South Inch. I believe what I had remonſtrated haveing now turned publick, he found the gentlemen went into it, and, for that reaſon, found it neceſſarie to croſs his humour a little, or goe further than his orders; I believe, both. In the mean time I ordered the trees about the toun to be cut for palliſades, which was done, and palliſſades made of them. Three hundred countrie fellows were brought to toun; I carried them to the iron mill, where I traced a large fleſh or raveline, with ropes, and when I was beginning to put the men to work, ſeeing Coll. Balfour, Major Balfour, and Coll. Hay, fall a laughing, I beg'd of them to take the management of it; and told them there was a neceſſitie of being a foole with fooles, and ſo left it; and certaine it is, that it's in many caſes a miſſortune to be too clear ſighted. It was buzed in my ear, underhand, that it was time enough to doe thoſe things when Mar and Generall Hamilton came to toun, and intreated I would in the mean time change my way of ſpeaking, becauſe people had a regarde to what I ſaid, haveing ſerved ſo latelie. And for that reaſon, I aſkt them, If I was to be made a toole of to flatter my countriemen into their ruine? I ſaid, I did not take that to be makeing a good uſe of my credite. They might doe as they pleaſed; but, I believed, Truth was the beſt pollitick.

My Lord Panmure came next into toun, with a hundred Highlandmen, and tuo hundred Low Countrie men. Achterhouſe, uncle to Strathmore and to the Earle of Aboyn, brought in the Aboyn men. My Lord Nairne and his ſon brought in their own men, and ſome of the Duke of Athole's Highlandmen; and now they were in all a great many men, but no ſuch

thing as order. I did what I could to perſuade thoſe who commanded them to pick out ſuch as had ſerved, to make officers and ſerjeants, and, where they were wanting, to take ſome of the activeſt of their folks to ſupplie; and one day all the guarniſone being drawn out on the South Inch, I told my Lord Panmure there would be no doeing till all that mob was regimented, and accordinglie, propoſed to him to joyn his men to the Aboyn men, becauſe his Highlandmen of Gleneſke and they were nighbours, and it would have a good effect, they haveing a confidence in one another; that if his Lordſhip would begin to form a regiment, the others would follow his exemple. He ſaid, If Achterhouſe was pleaſed, he deſired no better. I went to propoſe it to Achterhouſe, who was ſatiffied; and inſtantlie they formed a regiment, which was called Panmure's Regiment, to which Achterhouſe was Lieutenant-Collonell, and I pointed out to my Lord Panmure one Lefflie, who had ſerved, who he made Major. Barafield and I ſpoke to Strathmore about joyning his Low Countrie men and Southeſque's together, being of the ſame countie. He was ſatiffied to doe it, but the difficultie was, after they were joyned, who ſhould command them; for Strathmore pretended to command the gentlemen of the countie, which muſt be owned he had a better title to than Southeſque, if either familie or perſon was to be regarded. I undertook to ſpeak to Southeſque, at a diſtance, to ſee what could be done, or what he inclined to. He ſaid, poſitively, he would command the gentlemen. I returned, and told him Southeſque inclined to command the gentlemen. He aſkt me, If Southeſque was as ſtiff and poſitive in that, as he uſed to be in every other thing? for if he was, he ſuore he ſhould not command them. It was none of my buſineſs to aggravate things, knouing that if the leaſt difference happned, it would ſplite the gentlemen of that Countie, one half of whome would goe one way, and the other another, which made me ſoftne it as much as poſſible; and Strathmore ſaid, very generouſlie, It was the ſame to him where he ſerved; and pleaſed himſelf with the fancie of Southeſque's breaking his bones by falling from horſeback; becauſe, ſaid he, His mother had not taught him to ride. And that day, Strathmore took the command of Southeſque's and his own Low Countriemen joyned, and made Barafield his Lieutenant-Collonell, and one Captain Walkinſhaw, his Major. It muſt

be ſaid, nobodie engaged in that affair gave the half of the application to their dutie, or diſciplining their regiments, as my Lord Strathmore and Panmure; for the others ſeemed to doe things for their humour, or rather, did nothing at all; but they made it their buſineſs after that all in toun were regimented, ſome into ſtronger and others into weaker corps. Now, our guariſone being ſtronge, I ſpoke to Collonell Hay, that, to avoid confuſion in caſe of a ſuddain alarme, he'd order everie regiment its alarme poſt; but that was a language neither he nor his friend, Peter Smith, underſtood any thing off, the work being to be done by confuſion. Tho' ſo many men were got together, there was no monie to pay them, except what everie one gave his own people out of his private purſe, which could not ſubſiſt longe. I, happning to meet with Mr Hary Maule, fell into regrateing the unluckie ſtate we were in for want of armes, pouder, and monie. He ſaid then, very ingenuouſlie, That never men were ſo idlie brought in for their lives and fortunes as we were.

But lyes, the life of our affair, were ſpread with more induſtrie than ever, of pouder, armes, and monies being ſent us. Some of our gentlemen, who had thought that they had takne monie enough with them to doe their buſieneſs, or who came out in ſuch haſte that they had no time to provide, were goeing daylie home to get new ſupplies. I uſed to tell them, to no purpoſe, that ſome of them would be kidnapt; amongſt others, Sir Thomas Bruce, a gentleman of a very good eſtate, was oblidged to goe home ſome ſuch errand. I ſent one Mr Balfour, of Forret, after him, and told him of the riſque he run; but if he muſt goe, adviſed him not to ſtay a night at home. He took no notice of it, thought himſelf ſecure, ſtay'd ſome nights, and was takne by a partie of dragoons which my Lord Rothes brought with him, and from thence was carried to Leſlie Houſe; but this happned very ſoon after our getting into Pearth,[1] and when we were daylie expecting a viſite from the Duke of Argyle. Houever, Coll. Hay, and all there, preſſed me to take the hundred horſe then at Pearth, to attack Rothes, with his tuentie-five

[1] Sir Thomas Bruce was taken upon 28th September. Upon the 26th a small party of the insurgents had attempted to proclaim the King at Kinross, but were interrupted by the Earl of Rothes.—Rae's History, p. 232.

dragoons, in his houſe of Leſlie, and retake Sir Thomas Bruce; and, at ſame time, take five hundred armes, which was ſuppoſed to be hid there, which Rothes had ſo latelie got from the Gouvernment, beſides a greater quantitie which he had provided himſelf tuo years before. The bootie of armes and amunition would indeed been of uſe to us, but it was ten to one if they were ſtill there; and if we had thought they were, we ought to have made a ſearch when there was nobodie there, and when we could had them cheap, which we could not expect now, that houſe being a large ſquare, and ſtronglie situated, and, tho' of eaſie acceſs to the weſt, the front is ſo large, and the windows ſo many, that a regiment would not be ſtraitned in them, and platform above. It's true, we were not to expect ſo many there, but it was not to be doubted that my Lord, on half ane hour's advertiſement, could get a hundred men out of the village and nighbourhood, and that, with his own ſervants, who uſe to be numerous, and the tuentie-five dragoons, would make ſuch a defence, with ſo many armes ſuppoſed to be there, the louer windows being all ſtauncheld with iron bars. Without a greater force than at that time they could ſpare, which was the hundred gentlemen, with piſtells, and a hundred of the raw foot, without pouder, I muſt have had very little knouledge of the trade to knock ſo many poor gentlemen in the head, for diverſion, in the very beginning of our affair; nor was it our buſineſs, at a time we were ſo weak, to be makeing excurſions of that kind. I was apt to believe that it might be a trap laide for us, knouing us to be young ſojers, who might jump at everie baite, and, for what we could truſt to Coll. Hay's intelligence, it might been ane ambuſh. Tho' this was not to hinder Coll. Hay to goe there himſelf, and doe as he thought fit; and for his encouragement I told him, the beſt attack he had on it, that I remember'd, was under the cover of a wall, the back way from the village, which would lead them to the corner of the houſe, when they'd be under a good dale of the fire from the windows, and ſo force the back gate. But the Gouvernour did not think it convenient to riſque himſelf, and was ſatiſfied to let that project drop. All juſtified my opinion in the later end of our affair, when a ſmall guariſone of the Suiſſe were put into that houſe, who cut off our communication from the coaſt of Fife, and from the coales, ſo abſolutelie

neceſſarie for us in ſuch a cold winter, and chooſe to ſtarve for cold, when they pretended to be ſtronge enough to give the Duke of Argyle battle rather than attack that place.

My Lord Mar begun at laſt to move towards us, haveing ſucceeded in raiſeing almoſt all the Athole and Tullibardine men, by the means of Tullibardine, Lord Charles and Lord George Murrays, the Duke's three ſons, and one hundred of the Mar-men, by the help of Inderei, for the others would take no notice of him ſo longe as Indercale would not engage. On his marche he was joyned by my Lord Drummond, and thoſe who followed him, who, not being Highlandmen, would not riſe till the others came to force them out.

Generall Hamiltone came into Pearth tuo or three days before my Lord Mar, and the troopes with him, to regulate the quarters, and prepare magazines of meale and fourage, which ſeem'd needleſs till then, nobodie thinking of it. Mar, at that time putting all his truſt in Hamiltone, could not think of letting him goe out of his ſight till the dread of the Athole men was over. He was not ane hour in toun when he aſkt for me, and ſent [to] deſire me to come to him, to Collonell Hay's lodgings. I went ſo ſoon as I had dined; he took me aſide into a window, and, after a little diſcourſe, aſkt me, Who I thought would be the fitteſt man to command the Fife ſquadrone. I ſaid, Till officers came to us, at which time I'd demitt in any bodies favours who had ſerved longer than myſelf, I believed the gentlemen of that countie would be commanded by nobodie but myſelf. He ſaid, He knew that; but I was to be employed another way. I told him, I was indifferent what way, provided it was not to leave me behind in guarniſone when they marched; for I begun to ſuſpect, that after Mr Malcome's recommendation, that of Coll. Hay's might put my Lord Mar on poſting me ſome where out of the way, to be rid of me; upon which I told Generall Hamiltone, That poſitivelie I would not ſtay in guariſone. When he found I took it on that foot, he ſaide, He would be plaine with me, provided I'd keep the ſecret. I ſaid, Upon honour, I would. He told me I was to be ſent over to the Lothiens, with a thouſand men under my command, to raiſe thoſe gentlemen who were for us in the ſouthern counties, and from that to marche into England. I aſkt him, How he propoſed

to ſend ſuch a number over, and at what place? He ſaid, At the Queen's Ferrie. I told him, That was too nere the enemie, Stirveling being onlie eight miles from it, and we could no ſooner make a movement that way than the Duke of Argyle would ſuſpect, or at leaſt, being ſo near, would inſtantlie be informed of our bringing boats together; for it was no eaſie matter to find boats for ſo manie, and, in the mean time, would have his dragoons, yea, his foot, there, before we could get that done, and would hinder our landing on the other ſide. He ſaid, There was no difficultie in getting boats the minute we came there, for all the large paſſage-boats of the Frith were laid up there. I told him, If we were of that ſide where the boats were, we'd have no need of boats, for they were all of the ſouth ſide. He had not been informed of that, and ſaid, He was aſſured they were all at the Queen's Ferrie, which was true, for tho' there be tuo miles of ſea betwixt thoſe touns, on both ſides, they goe both by the ſame name, onlie they are diſtinguiſh't by the South or North Queen's Ferrie. I ſuppoſed we could got over, which was impoſſible, the dragoons would ſtill be at our heels, and aſkt him, Where we could take poſt? for I could not imagine he thought that a thouſand of our raw people would pretend to ſtand that number of dragoons in the plain, which the Duke of Argyle could detache. He ſaide, Did I know no ſtrong houſe thereabouts? I anſuered, I had never been in that part of the countrie but once, ſome years agoe, when I halted no where; onlie I remembered I had ſeen ſome large houſes, which always afford a defence; but the divill was, we'd ſoon be block't up in them, and ſtarve for want of proviſions, which, I was ſure, the Duke of Argyle would not give us time to get in; and for my part, were I in ſuch a caſe, I'd endeavour to gaine the longe chaine of hills, if poſſible, which, if I did, I'd laugh at the dragoons. But to put an end to that raiſoning, I bid him be aſſured there were no boats to be got there to execute that project. He ſaid, It muſt be done ſome way. I ſaid, If it muſt be done, it was to be done further down the Frith; but I forſaw great difficulties in it, for there were men-of-war in ſtation through the whole Frith; and, before I came from home, orders were given to the Cuſtom-Houſe officers all alonge the coaſt, to inform the men-of-war of the leaſt movement of the troopes; this I could aſſure him of. He aſkt,

Where boats were to be got? I told him, Very far down the Frith, at Creile, Kilrinnie, Anſtruthers, Pittenweem, Buchaven, and Wemyſs, and the further down the more boats were to be got. He aſkt me, If I knew no ſtronge place oppoſite? I ſaid, I was intirelie a ſtranger to my countrie, haveing been ſo longe out of it; but aſkt him, If he remembered any thing of the Citadell of Leith? for I could think of no other. He ſaid, He believed it would ſoon be put in a poſture of defence, and ſaid, ſo might Haddingtoun; but in caſe they were to land, with a view to the Citadell of Leith, where could they land? I ſaid, I did not doubt it was to be done in the night time, and then they could doe it, as the wind ſerved, on any place of the coaſt, ſuppoſe Seatoun, Muſſelbrough, or Preſton Pans, for Leith was not to be thought of, becauſe there never wanted men-of-war in that road; but if they were to goe for Haddingtoun, which he ſeemed to think might be made ſtronge in ſo ſmall a time as was requiſite, and would embarraſs the enemie more, and put our people out of inſult, being at ſo great a diſtance, Aberladie Sands and North Berwick would be the places. I enquired further, What men he deſigned to ſend? He ſaid, Strathmore's regiment for one. I looking ſurpriſed at that, aſkt him, If there was no Highlandmen? He ſaid, The reſt were to be Highlandmen. I told him, If I went, I'd take care to keep nere the hills, rather than ſhut myſelf up in any place; and ſince the deſigne of that expedition was to raiſe thoſe South Countrie gentlemen, I did not ſee why any thing ſhould be riſqud till that was done. Some one takeing the Generall aſide about other buſineſs, I left him; and tho', I muſt own, I was not fond of that commiſſion, and ſuſpected my Lord Mar had pitched on me rather to put me out of the way then out of friendſhip, yet I thought I could not in honour refuſe it; and if propoſed to me after, would have gone, provided I had ſeen armes, pouder, and ball, without which I had flatlie denied.

From what Generall Hamiltone had told me, I formed a very bad idea of the ſtate of our affairs, for it ſhewed me clearlie, that my Lord Mar's ſyſtem, of England's riſeing, on the firſt account of our being up in armes, muſt been falſe; as well as his telling us, that it was deſired by the Engliſh that we ſhould riſe firſt, to draw all the troopes our way, and, by that deverſion, untie their hands, and give them ane opportunitie of formeing

into bodies; when, no ſooner he had got a few of us together, than he was meditateing to ſend a thouſand of us to England, which muſt weakne us ſo much, that he'd never thought of it, if he had the leaſt hopes of England's riſeing without it, ſince, contrarie to the pretended concert, it would rather keep the troopes in England then draw them our way.

Notwithſtanding of my reaſoning thus with myſelf, I am ſhure my greateſt enemies can't accuſe me of either then diſcourageing, or diſcovering the leaſt thing to anie bodie; onlie I told ſeveralls of my Fife friends, that I believ'd I was not to ſerve with them; which they ſeemed ſorrie for, and which I explained to them after Brigadeer Mackintoſh paſt the Frith.

My Lord Mar comeing at laſt to Pearth, with thoſe he had got together in the Highlands, we were drawn out to the North Inch to receave him, and from that time did he daylie take more and more upon him to act like our Generall, and did all of himſelf, without conſulting anie bodie; as if he had been another Moſes, meek and ſpotleſs, and without a blemiſh, ſent from Heaven with a divine commiſſion to relieve us miſerable wretches out of bondage: ſo mean an opinion had he of all of us preſent, and ſo great was ours to be of him, that "Illi ſummum rerum judicium a Deo datum: nobis ſola obſequii gloria relicta videretur." (Tacit.)

Haveing laid the foundation of this ſtorie, it will not be improper to give the origine and caracter of the Hero, or great man, who acted the chief part in it, as well as a hint of his inducements and motives; that thoſe who read this may judge how much, from his infancie, he has been of a piece with himſelf, nor be ſurpriſed with his conduct throughout the whole affair.

John Erskine, Earle of Mar, is of ane ancient family, which of late has been very low and poor. His father dyed when he was verie younge,[1]

[1] Charles, tenth Earl of Mar, was one of James VII.'s Privy Council, but is said to have disapproved of many of his measures, and to have been on the point of retiring from public life when the Revolution took place. During the sitting of the Convention of Estates he was arrested, in an attempt to leave Edinburgh, with the view, it was supposed, of joining Dundee, then in arms. But he afterwards acquired their confidence by delivering up Stirling Castle, and levying a body of men for the Revolutionary interest.

and, as it's generallie believed in Scotland, he hanged himſelf, Judas-like, out of a remorſe of conſcience, for betraying his maſter James the Seventh; and tho' by his bountie he ſubſiſted, he delivered up the Caſtle of Stirveling, of which he was Gouvernour, and carried over his regiment to King William. He left this Lord Mar heir to more debt than eſtate,[1] and to the management of a mother, who was a notorious whore, whoſe figure did not give her merite enough to gaine by her trade,[2] ſo that he profited nothing of her but the hump he has got on his back, and her diſſolute, malicious, medling ſpirite. It's eaſie to imagine that the firſt teintures he receaved from ſuch a gouvernante were none of the beſt, no more than his education advantageous or inſtructive. Haveing no obligations to nature, and ſo few to his father and mother, and none but that of debt to the reſt of mankind, ſo ſoon as he was capable of anything he ſeemed to think himſelf in a ſtate of war with the whole; for it has oftne been obſerved that thoſe who are born with ſuch naturall defects, uſe to revenge themſelves on nature, by doeing her as little honour as ſhe has done them; which I believe the reaſon of that Lacedemonian law for deſtroying theſe monſtruous productions the minute they were born.[3] His originall ſin, both by his father and mother giveing him as ſmall a title to honour as eſtate, he ſoon gave himſelf up, as by inſtinct, to his hereditarie and naturell penchant, yillanie and lying. The firſt act of hoſtilitie he committed was defrauding of his creditours by the help of his never to be forgotten ſteuart, Charles Kierie, without the leaſt regarde to ſo many poor families, whoſe bowells he tore out and rendered miſerable; but this was facilitate by the Court, to whom he recommended

[1] The estate is said to have been embarrassed in consequence of the debts contracted by Earl Charles's grandfather during the great Rebellion. Earl Charles sold the Lordship of Erskine, from which the family take their name.

[2] The Lady thus rudely characterized was Lady Mary Maule, daughter of George, Earl of Panmure.

[3] Our author was better acquainted with the Latin than the English classics, else he had remembered Shakspeare's Richard—

> "Since I cannot prove a lover,
> To entertain these fair well-spoken days,
> I am determined to prove a villain."

himſelf by his father's merite, by which he had the cunning to inſinuate himſelf earlie, and gave them hopes that in time he might be of uſe to them. As he grew older, his inherent villanie, and his intereſted ambition, grew with him; he ſoon found that when he had done his beſt—the ſmall matter he could pilfer from his creditours was but a tryfle to his extravagance—he abandonned himſelf to the Court, and declared war againſt his countrie. He truckled as an underling till the Union, at which time he was made Secretarie of State for Scotland, to which it was not the intereſt or influence he had in his countrie, or the leaſt good qualitie recommended him to the Engliſh Court, but the hardie diſpoſition they found in him to ruine and betray his countrie. For it was he, who, the year before, firſt treacherouſlie preſented that fatale, ſcandalous, and deplorable Act of Union to the Scots Parliament, and left the power of the nomination blank, and managed it ſo afterwards, that the nomination was given to the Queen; it was he whoſe breathe was ſo infectious, that his familiaritie was enough to render the Duke of Hamilton ſuſpected to honeſt men, tho' he had done more for his countrie than all in it; it was he who made that great man ſwerve, and ſoon after betrayed him, and broke his promiſe to him; it was he who by his little undermineing artifices, which is his fort, laid the foundation of that jealouſie amongſt thoſe who loved their countrie, which contributed moſt to its utter ruine.

For theſe 'good actions, and this merite, and no other, was he made Secretarie of State; to prove which I not onlie appeal to "Lockhart's Memoirs," where his caracter is at large, but to the conſciences of moſt Scotſmen now alive. To doe him juſtice, he ſerved the Engliſh faithfullie; tho' I could never imagine that the many ſpeeches I have heard him make on that occaſion, deſerved the three thouſand pound of equivalent, and the tuo for Secretarie of State, for it's hard to ſay whither he diſcovered himſelf by them more the bad man, or the bad oratour. Tho' I knew then he was not diſpoſeing of much of his own, yet I could not hinder myſelf to admire the zeale he ſhewed at that time for their ſervice; but never admired his courage, for no ſooner candles were called for into the Parliament Houſe, than he always proteſted he'd goe, tho' in the middle of a hot debate; his cowardice, as well as his guilty conſciens, inſpireing him at that

time with that maxime, as well as afterwards, that it was good to ſecure a retreat, believing it ſafer to retire out of the Parliament Houſe in daylight than in the night, the citie and countrie being in no ſmall commotion; ſo it's demonſtrable that his onlie and great qualitie was that of undermining his countrie, and committing the ſin againſt the Holie Ghoſt, by treacherouſlie, for a piece of monie, betraying it; the blackeſt and atrociouſeſt of crimes, never to be forgiven by God Almightie, and I think ought never to be forgiven, and impoſſible to been forgot by men, for no day has paſt ſince the makeing of that diſmall Union that we have not found the ſad effects of it. And to ſhew he never repented ſo longe as he receaved the leaſt part of the reward of his patricide, at the time of the pretended Invaſioun he was the great promoter in bringing up to London, in triumph, thoſe of the beſt families of his countrie, which I took the freedom to tell him at Pearth. It's evident he was not acted of late by his zeale for his countrie, or the Royalle Familie, but his ambition to be again Secretarie of State, and all that his beſt friends can ſay for him is, that he was a creature of my Lord Oxford's. His old friends, the Whigs, who knew him capable of everie thing for his intereſt, feared his turning renegado, ſoon armed againſt him, and did not leave him ſo much as the influence he had in the little toun of Stirveling.

If, by the Whigs throwing him off, he was forced to [take] refuge to the Tories in Scotland, and cajole them to gaine their ſupport, he acted the ſame part with his Maſter Oxford, it was with the ſame view to cheat them like him; who, he found a verie eaſie purchaſe, haveing loſt their head, the Duke of Hamiltone, and ſeverall other Lords of late, which left them *primo occupanti*, with almoſt few or none of common ſenſe amongſt them, and fitted them exactlie for his purpoſe. His getting the Torie Lords choſen of the ſixteen, with his procureing them the other hundred pounds of drink-monie from the Treaſaurer; and when that would not doe, getting them credite from him on their giveing him their bonds, were favours great enough to make his peace with them, and gaine them to him, while all they were doeing was onlie ruining themſelves in his ſervice. The penſions given to the Chiefs of Clans was with no other view procured from the Court, but that of makeing him popular amongſt them at the expenſe of the Gouvernment,

for there was no leſs needfull to get himſelf, what he had not, I mean, ane intereſt ſomewhere in his countrie. To gaine himſelf more univerſall credite, he inſinuated underhand that if it were in his power he would not be wanting to ſerve King James; which, he knew, would ſoon bringe about him all the little hungrie Jacobite meſſengers, whoſe greateſt merite, he knew, conſiſted in their follie and lying, virtues, that calculated them exactlie to ſerve his preſent turn. He dealt with them as Pſaphon of old did with the magpyes, thruſhes, jais, and parrets, and ſome ſuch birds, after haveing taught them to pronounce theſe words, Pſaphon is God, he turned them looſe, that thoſe who heard ſo many and ſo extraordinarie teſtimonies of his divinitie, might the more eaſilie be brought to believe it. They were verie docile, and got their leſſon ſoon, and were not longe of proueing him a very honeſt man to their certaine knowledge, for that's their way of ſpeaking, nor, if need required, were they to ſtand to ſwear they had known him ſo theſe many years, if need required; which was all he wanted of them, and which they did not ſo much out of a view to ſerve the King, as wiſely to ſerve themſelves, haveing no head to applie to, and no bodie to take the leaſt notice of their ſervices, which, though the King ſucceeded, would turn to no account to them, without a man of conſequence were to repreſent them; they were overjoyed to find themſelves, imployed by a Miniſter of State, which ſome of them might be fools enough to imagine was makeing court to them, who would not be at pains to doe ſo, if he did not find a merite in them, but at leaſt conceaved no ſmall opinion of the great fortune they were to make if they could be uſeful to him.

If the Preſbiterian miniſters have uſurped the power of damning and ſaveing the ſoules of their mob, according to their pleaſure, thoſe have been in a longe poſſeſſion of giveing or takeing away the good name or reputation of the gentlemen of their partie, according as they drunk them hard, or gave into their lyes; without which uſurpation they were not altogether ſo ignorant as to know themſelves of no uſe. Mar was informed, by thoſe at London, who of that band could be moſt ſerviceable to him in the countrie; letters were ſent to ſome, deſireing them to come to London; amongſt whome was Mr Malcome of Grange, that my Lord Mar, Secretarie of State, might have ane opportunitie of telling them the value he had for them, and

how much, were it in his power, he'd be their humble ſervant. They were not longe of goeing, and haveing got their leſſon, returned heartilie ſatiffied with their reception, brought letters alonge with them to thoſe of their recommendation, not more ſignificant as themſelves, but good enough to raiſe him a reputation amongſt the unthinking part of countrie gentlemen, who have, of a longe time, been damned to ſwallow, like Goſpell, all that theſe drouthie polliticiens were pleaſed to tell them. In a word, Mar was made ane honeſt man by them to their certaine knowledge, and his health was drunk, tho' this ſtill required management; for thoſe conſidering fools who had occaſion to know anything of his paſt life would ſoon ſtop the progreſs of all, being ane argument that was not to be well ſupported, and for that reaſon, before ſuch, his name was never to be mentioned; or, if it was, it would be doeing him and the cauſe ſervice to drop the ſubject, for theſe were people who were not to be convinced, and might be alarmed; and no good could come of that.

His Lordſhip being ſatiffied of the deteſtation and abhorrence that thoſe of the better ſort had of him, did not think it was yet time to applie to them till the others had paved the way for him; and even then the jealouſie of him would be ſo great, that they'd be ſo far from goeing in blindlie to all his meaſures, it was to be feared, they'd occaſion the dropeing of him, when the Whigs were not like to be reconciled to him. So there was no leſs than ane abſolute neceſſity of refugeing to the Tories for ſupport; who he attackt in the foible by getting their weakeſt or neadieſt Lords choſen of the ſixteen, by captivateing, underhand, with great promiſes, all the little tools of the partie. And, at laſt, as if by inſpiration, declaring himſelf of the Church of England, contrarie to the profeſſion of his whole life; ſetting up a chappell for the ſervice, gaining by that the whole Episcopall clergie, to whome he made the compliment of his new religion, who could not but be rejoyced at the repentance of a ſinner; all this with a view to make his own markett at Court, at the expence of the whole, by takeing advantage of their weakneſs, and makeing uſe of them either for or againſt themſelves, according to the exigence of his affairs, while all he was preferring by his recommendation to poſts in Scotland were of the oppoſite partie; which, tho' not a proof of what I have ſaid was his deſigne, yet a

prefumption, which, with his letter to King George at the Hague,[1] if you'll take his own word for it, will amount to a manifeft conviction; where, after

[1] This memorable document, which affords sufficient evidence of the Earl of Mar's versatility, to give it no worse name, is in the following terms:—

"SIR,

"Having the happiness to be your Majesty's subject; and also the honour of being one of your servants, as one of your Secretaries of State, I beg leave to kiss your Majesty's hand, and congratulate your happy accession to the throne; which I would have done myself the honour of doing sooner, had I not hoped to have had the honour of doing it personally ere now.

"I am afraid I may have had the misfortune of being misrepresented to your Majesty; and my reason for thinking so is, because I was, I believe, the only one of the late Queen's servants who your ministers here did not visit, which I mentioned to Mr Harley and the Earl of Clarendon, when they went from hence to wait on your Majesty; and your ministers carrying so to me, was the occasion of my receiving such orders as deprived me of the honour and satisfaction of waiting on them, and being known to them.

"I suppose I had been misrepresented to them by some here, upon account of party, or to ingratiate themselves by aspersing others, as our parties here too often occasion, but I hope your Majesty will be so just as not to give credit to such misrepresentations.

"The part I acted in bringing about and making of the Union, when the succession to the Crown was settled for Scotland on your Majesty's family, where I had the honour to serve as Secretary of State for that Kingdom, doth, I hope, put my sincerity and faithfulness to your Majesty out of dispute.

"My family hath had the honour, for a great tract of years, to be faithful servants to the Crown, and have had the care of the King's children (when Kings of Scotland) entrusted to them. A predecessor of mine was honoured with the care of your Majesty's grandmother when young; and she was pleased afterwards to express some concern for our family in letters which I have still in her own hand.

"I have had the honour to serve her late Majesty, in one capacity or other, ever since her accession to the Crown. I was happy in a good mistress, and she was pleased to have some confidence in me, and regard for my services. And since your Majesty's happy accession to the Crown, I hope you will find that I have not been wanting in my duty in being instrumental in keeping things quiet and peaceable in the country to which I belong, and have some interest in.

"Your Majesty shall ever find me as faithful and dutiful a subject and servant

congratulateing his own happineſs of being his Majeſtie's ſubject, as well as his Majeſtie's happie acceſſion to the throne, he is in no ſmall apprehenſions, and fears his being miſrepreſented to him by his Miniſters, who had not viſited him, and regrates his being aſperſed to them by ſome ill-meaning partie men; tells his Majeſtie of the care he had takne of undeceaveing him, by my Lord Clarendon and Mr Harley, when they went to Hanover; values himſelf on his haveing ſo great a hand in the Union, for theſe are his own words, "The part I acted in bringing about and makeing the Union, when the ſucceſſion to the Crown was ſettled for Scotland on your Majeſtie's family, where I had the honour to ſerve as Secretarie of State for that Kingdom, doth, I hope, put my ſincerity and faithfulneſs to your Majesty out of diſpute;" and afterwards tells him, in a mean ſervile manner, that one of his predeceſſours was nurſe to his grandmother, and lays ſo much ſtreſs upon that, in caſe the truth of it might be doubted, that he pretends to inſtruct it by letters: A little after, "And ſince your Majeſtie's happie acceſſion to the Crown, I hope you will find that I have not been wanting in my duty, in being inſtrumental in keeping things quiet and peaceable in the countrie to which I belonge, and have ſome intereſt in." Does not he there begin very earlie to make diſcoveries, yea, ſacrifice the Scots Tories, onlie to have ane occaſſion to ſhew ane attachment to King George's ſervice, and of valueing himſelf on his intereſt in his countrie.

If the deſſinge of this letter was to lulle King George aſleep, as his Lordſhip's friends gives out, and would have believed a maſterpiece of

as ever any of my family have been to the Crown, or as I have been to my late Mistress the Queen. And I beg your Majesty may be so good as not to believe any misrepresentations of me, which nothing but party hatred and my zeal for the interest of the Crown doth occasion, and I hope I may presume to lay claim to your royal favour and protection.

"As your accession to the Crown hath been quiet and peaceable, may your Majesty's reign be long and prosperous, and that your people may soon have the happiness and satisfaction of your presence among them, is the earnest and fervent wishes of him who is, with the humblest duty and respect,

"Sir, Your Majesty's most faithful, most dutiful, and most obedient subject and servant,

Mar."

pollitick, certainlie this is contrarie to that deſigne, where he puts him on his guarde where there was no need for it, and not the leaſt appearance of diſturbance or diſquiet; which happened afterwards by ſecond cauſes, and depended intirelie on the broiles in England. If his Lordſhip was capable to tell King George ſo much on ſo ſlight acquaintance, what would not he have done had he got into the poſſeſſion of the five thouſand pounds a year? to attain to which he had alreadie ſacrificed his honour and conſcience, countrie, and all mankind. As he begins his letter, ſo he ends it, in terms full of ſubmiſſion and duty, hopeing and fearing, and begging his Majeſty to believe him his moſt dutiefull, faithfull, and obedient ſubject and ſervant. Can it be denyed that in this letter his Lordſhip forgot the promiſes made to the Tories; and, while he was fooleing them, he was aſſiduouſlie makeing his court elſewhere, without the leaſt regarde to what he had made them believe was the will of his good miſtreſs, as he calls her, who he forgot ſo ſoon as her breath was out, tho' ſhe had longe given him bread, as he himſelf owns in the letter: In a word, my Lord Mar is ſo much through the whole letter, that one muſt be worſe than my Lord Mar to pretend to excuſe it, and a Scots Torie, in the ſuperlative degree, ever after to put the leaſt confidence in him.

Beſides this letter to King George, he made uſe of another precaution, which was, marrieing ane Engliſh ladie[1] ſome time before, whoſe familie intereſt he was in hopes might keep him in place, or reconcile the Whigs to him; and, at leaſt, get him of the readie to keep up his credite for ſome time, in caſe the Queen ſhould happne to die, which all forſaw, and he ſent of grazeing. To bringe that about, as I am told, he was forced to give her, in joynture, all that was called his eſtate. I have ſome reaſon to think he cheated her, by pretending to give her what was not in his own name, and if ſo, not his own; and, I'm ſhure, if it was his own, it was cheating his ſon and familie.

But theſe precautions and ſubmiſſions did not ſerve his turn, being ſo odious to the Engliſh Miniſtrie, who had ſo long knoun him, and the ſame

[1] Lady Frances Pierrepoint, daughter of the Duke of Kingston, sister and correspondent of the accomplished Lady Mary Wortley Montague.

who had imployed him formerlie, who treated him as thoſe who make uſe of poiſon doe a venimous monſter, after ſqueezing, as they thought, the poiſon out of him, threw him away; haveing no further occaſion for him, and imagineing him ſufficientlie recompenſed for betraying his countrie. Finding himſelf in a moſt deſpicable condition, and that there was no mercie to be expected for him, either from the Court or his creditours, of which there was no want in Scotland as well as in London, and fearing that his old friends the Whigs of that countrie would have no compaſſion on him, and uſe him ſcurvilie for deſerting them; and believeing that the little and mercenarie part of the Scots Tories, who he was ſo latelie tampering with, and to whome he had never done the leaſt ſervice, had founded their friendſhip to him more on a view of ſerving themſelves than anie regarde they could have for him, would throw him off as eaſilie as they had takne him up; and the rather, that the lowneſs of his circumſtances muſt be ſoon diſcover'd, if not alreadie known, when he would appear to them in his own naturell deformitie, for its ſucceſs onlie that's a cover to villanie: Thus, reaſonablie looking on himſelf as one deteſted and abhorred by all mankind, he could not pardon his countrie and countriemen the evills which he himſelf had done them, and imagin'd their hatred proportion'd to his villanie, and ſuppoſed they'd ſpare him on no occaſion, if he did not haſten to prevent them. On theſe conſiderations did he duble his diligence, and reſolved to ſtrike the iron while hot. Haveing no other game to play, knowing that the mobs and broiles in Engeland had rowzed the Scots Tories, who were very attentive to all that paſt there, which, according to their laudable cuſtome, they magnified to cheat themſelves, he did not know how far, with his management, and makeing uſe of ſo favourable a conjuncture, he might work them up before things turned ſtale, and while their ſpirits were in a ferment; if, by the force of lying, and makeing them believe he was truſted by the Engliſh Jacobits and the King, he ſhould ſucceed in raiſeing them, no matter what came of it, he could looſe nothing, not ſo much as a reputation. It was but takeing a ſhip, and leaving a countrie he could not well ſubſiſt in; and a propoſall of that kind to the Jacobites there, before they had time to reflect on his true motives, and comeing from him, who they had no reaſon to doubt was ane

intereſted man, would naturallie lead them in to believe it a ſhure game, and might ſurprize them into doeing ſomething which would be ſufficient to recommend him to the unfortunate King, the onlie refuge his deſpair left him. But if he could be ſo happie as to ſucceed in makeing a heartie buſtle, by takeing advantage of their weakneſs, and by makeing uſe of thoſe tools who he had alreadie been dealing with, whoſe deſpair it would anſuer as well as his own, end as it would, it muſt get him a reputation abroad, and make him paſs on ſtrangers as the greateſt man of that countrie; in which, at the bottom, he had no further pretenſions, haveing no other view of felling it a ſecond time:

> "For what's the use of any thing,
> But so much monie as it will bring."

In all events, he could not faile of ſecureing a ſhip and get over to France, where he'd have the firſt title to the King's favour, after ſuch ſignall ſervices done him.

He was in hopes the Highland Chiefs of Clans had not forgot the penſions that they ſo latelie owed him, when Secretarie of State, and knew how far the promiſe of a little monie would goe with them at all times, but yet further, when joyned to their naturall inclinations of plundering and ſerveing that cauſe. The Duke of Athole ſtood moſt in his way, for tuo reaſons: If he joyned, his Lordſhip would be loſt in the croude of poor Lords, and not being at the head, would looſe the merite of all; for he'd make but a ſorrie figure out of that ſphere, being capable of nothing but writeing of letters, and perhaps not intruſted with that; I muſt ſay a whimſicall circumſtance, where there was no medium betwixt being Generaliſſimo and being a little clerck: If his Grace of Athole did not joyn, the reſt of the Highlands, houever well inclined, would be very backward, and he'd paſs his time but badlie at Bre-Mar.[1] But he ſoon found a ſalvo to both; for the Duke's eldeſt ſon, Tullibardine, being at London, and in a little debt, was ſoon engaged by him in a cauſe he loved, by paying his debts with the King's monie, as he gave out, to make the world enter into the truſt, and ſent to Scotland before his Lordſhip of Mar, in hopes he'd, with

[1] Which borders on the Athole country.

the affiſtance of his uncle and brothers, ſecure his father's vaſſalls, who were naturallie well inclined; which there was great ground to believe he would doe, without keeping meaſures with his father, being, as he thought, hardlie uſed by him; which expedient would anſuer all difficulties, for it would tye up the Duke's hands, and at ſame time rancour him, till Mar got ane opportunitie of doeing more.

Next thing that was to be done, was to draw into the affair ſome one who had the caracter of a Generall, to give the thing a name. Generall Hamilton occurred to him; whoſe diſapointments, by the death of the Queen, and the difficultie of liveing on a Collonell's half-pay, which was not eaſilie granted him neither, made him the ſooner believe what his Lordſhip ſaid; and, as he told my Lord Balcarres and me, he doubted of nothing that his Lordſhip of Mar told him, and that he had tuelve thouſand pounds before him in Scotland, and tuo thouſand carrieing alonge with him in his ſtronge box, which would be of uſe in the beginning, till the great remittances folloued him from France. But to goe on with particulars. He knew the Earle of Mariſhall,[1] who had little or no eſtate, was a younge man of ambition; and tho' his familie was ſunk, yet the name of it had ane influence in the countrie, which he'd readilie make uſe of to reſent the injurie done him in takeing away his regiment, and [it] being uneaſie to him to accomodate himſelf to the way of liveing that his neceſſities reduced him to, after haveing ſo latelie taſted of the ſweet of a regiment.

Linlithgow would be eaſilie led alonge, whoſe talent did not ly in much thought or reflection. If Kilſyth had no influence, yet his want of bread would make him a ſure carde, as well as a uſefull inſtrument, being a man of ſenſe, and haveing the title of Viſcount. As to Drummond,[2] the ſtraits he had plounged himſelf into by his follie, would not goe a greater length

[1] George, the tenth and last Earl Marischal. More fortunate than his companions in misfortune, he not only escaped from Scotland after 1715, but became the favourite of the great King of Prussia, in whose service he died. The celebrated Marshal Keith, one of Frederick's greatest generals, was the Earl Marischal's brother, and also engaged in the Rebellion.

[2] James, commonly called Marquis of Drummond and Lord Drummond, was eldest son to James, fourth Earl of Perth, Chancellor of Scotland under James II,

with him than the vanitie of being made a great Generall, which there was nothing ſo eaſie as promiſe him. Southeſque was ſo younge, and knew ſo little of the matter, that he neither would or could aſk queſtions. Huntlie, tho' a man who'd not readilie incline to riſque a good eſtate, yet, if he gained upon the others, he being a Catholick, ſhame would bringe him in, and that very religious reaſon would be ane argument for his not pretending the command, as he loved the King's affairs. Seaforth[1] would be got by the ſame reaſon; to facilitate which, my Lord Duffus[2] was ſent to Scotland ſometime before, haveing bargained for as much monie as bear his charges doun; for, I ſuppoſe, my Lord Mar did not put that compliment on him of paying his debts, which would been buying his ſervice very dear. This poor creature, who had no other qualitie but that of ane inſatiable drouth, and who had neither houſe nor hold, being turned out of his ſhip, undertook to raiſe the countie of Southerland againſt their maſter, and his own Chief.[3] Caithneſs he was no leſs ſure of, and did not make the leaſt ſcruple of a great part of the countie of Murreys following him, as well as bringing out Seaforth, who was his couſine, when thoſe people knew nothing of him further than being oblidged to give him monie, and ſubſiſt him when he uſed to be amongſt them. "Quid fecit tanto dignum hic promiſſor hiatu," will afterwards appear. It will be tedious to give the details to anie Scotſman of a great manie others, againſt whome it was no leſs eaſie for his Lordſhip to have formed deſignes, before he moved from London.

who followed his unfortunate master's fortunes into France, and was there raised to a titular dukedom. His son had the good fortune to escape to France after the Rebellion was subdued, and died there.

[1] William, fifth Earl of Seaforth. He engaged in the Rebellion, but was supposed not to be very hearty in the cause. He suffered attainder, but escaped to France. In 1726 he received the King's pardon, and returned to Scotland, where he died in 1740.

[2] Kenneth Sutherland, Lord Duffus, educated in the Navy. He also escaped, but was seized at Hamburgh and delivered up to Government, and continued a prisoner in the Tower till the Act of Indemnity. He afterwards went abroad, and died an Admiral in the Russian service.

[3] The Earl of Sutherland, of whom more hereafter.

He had got marchands of note to whiſper it about, that there was infinite ſoumes of monie lodged in their hands from France and England, for ſome great deſigne; which he took care to improve after his landing, ſo there was little place left to doubt it was ſo; the rather that it was eaſilie believed, that even his Lordſhip himſelf could not be ſo abandoned as attempt ane affaire of that kind without it, and that England, which had ſhewed itſelf ſo diſpoſed, could not place a little monie better to ſerve their purpoſe, than beſtowing ſome of it in Scotland.

He thought, if he hoockt in but anie ſmall part of theſe I mentioned, the others were ſo weak they'd not reſiſt longe, and then a great many better meaning then diſcerning men, would follow, beſides all of deſperate circumſtances, who are numerous enough in moſt of countries, and always readie to lay hold of all occaſions to make commotions. Whoever he had reaſon to ſuſpect would be ſo impertinent to aſk queſtions, or ſtart doubts, were to be laſt ſpoke to, and if they would not drive, muſt be ſlandered, by which their ſting was to be takne off. The private way of makeing his eſcape from London, and the hazard he run to bring them the certaine news of their King's comeing, imbelliſht with ſome prittie little circumſtances of his workeing aboard of the ſhip, would make them ſtare and prick their ears, and the bringing a Generall alonge with him would ſound great, and at once raiſe their expectations. On theſe, and the like hopes and ſuppoſitions, did that noble Lord found his plan.

Being kickt out of Court, and finding it impoſſible to ſtab his countrie to the heart another way, the vitals of which had been his daylie bread, and its blood the nouriſhment of his whole life, which, from his infancie, he had been of ſucking; "Quod nihil ſpei niſi per diſcordias haberet: et ſummi faſtigii honores, quos quieta Republica deſperabat, perturbatâ conſequi ſe poſſe arbitrabatur." (Saluſt.) And that his loyaltie was intirelie oweing to that, I ſhall narrate what happned betuixt him and ſome gentlemen of the countie of Stirveling, as a further proof. On King George's acceſſion to the throne, theſe gentlemen, who he had been amuſeing, as he had done others, wrote to him to know what was to be done on that juncture; and, as I had it from one of thoſe gentlemen, who ſaw his anſuer, he ſaid, Nobodie but madmen would think there was any thing to be done at

that time. I can't ſay but after his way of thinking he was in the right, ſo longe as he had five thouſand reaſons againſt it; the leaſt of which weigh'd more with him then the Gouvernment's being unſettled, and their want of tròopes, or his loyaltie to the King, or his dutie to his countrie; but the moment thoſe five thouſand obſtacles were removed, I mean his penſion of five thouſand a year takne from him, and the reward for betraying his Countrie, tho' the Gouverment was ſettled, the fleet and armie purged, and more than a double number of troopes raiſed, I may ſay a triple, then was the onlie and proper time for wiſe men to act, and his Lordſhip to commence the hero; and all the advantages the Gouverment had gained by that delay were counterpoiſed by unheard of forgeries and lying; revenge, deſpair, and want of bread, were to ſupplie him for the want of honour, courage, and loyaltie; and the zeale, credulitie, and weakneſs of his poor countriemen, ſupplied his want of intereſt. Specious pretexts, at no time hard to be found, were eaſilie got; and imaginarie aide, and imaginarie magazines, as well as ane imaginarie commiſſion, made up the want of everie thing to thoſe unwarie people, who, as they had never before known him, truſted to his perfidious words and promiſes. With this foundation did he ſet out, haveing, with artifices and illuſions, inſnared too many of his poor deluded countriemen, with no other view than the makeing a noiſe in the world at their expenſe, to ſatiſfie his private revenge, and give him bread, which, in ſpite of ſo much ill got monie, his own extravagance, and the curſe of God on him for his villanies, had not left him at home.

The leaſt plauſible pretext makes thoſe who gòe no further than the ſurface of things paſs over the greateſt of crimes for ſmall defects; but thoſe who goe to the bottom and digs, finds out the reall genious of the man, and there reads the certaine preſage of the miſfortune which threatned us. Animoſitie or hatred does not disfigure him to me; it's onlie to thoſe he is disfigured to whome his ſucceſsful villanies had made him appear great. I don't give him the names of perfidious, or odious, without haveing proved he deſerved it, otherwiſe it might be ſaid, with reaſon, that theſe are pure invectives, and nothing more. Ther's none, who will be at the leaſt pains to trace him from the beginning of his life, but will diſcover

more than I doe here, and that everie day of his life has been a new ſcene of villanie; and, without at preſent entring into the conſideration of what happned afterwards, they'd find too much to ſhew that it's his own actions which defines and names him. Tuo reaſſons have induced me to enter into that detaile; firſt, Ther's nothing ſo proper to unmaſk the cheat or impoſtor, and ſhew his perfidie clearlie; next, Ther's nothing more neceſſarie to cure certain weak ſpirits, whoſe admiration he has ſurpriſed, and to whome their ignorance paints him a hero; for his greatneſs can aſtoniſh nobodie but thoſe who are blind, or ſtupid enough, not to find out the methods he took to attain to it.

But to return to Pearth. His Lordſhip was not longe there when the Highlandmen begun to mutinie, for want of pay. It appear'd to me then, that it had been ſuppoſed they could liv'd without it, as well as fight without pouder and armes, becauſe there was a ſudden conſternation amongſt us all.

Southeſque gave five hundred pound to help to ſupplie the preſent wants, with great frankneſs, and Panmure followed his exemple and gave as much. A Councill of Finance was inſtantlie eſtabliſht, to fall on ways and means to raiſe monie, and it was determined to levie eight months ceſs in theſe Low-Countrie counties we were maſters of. In the meantime, it was deſired of thoſe who knew any of their nighbourhood who were not engaged, and had monie, to give in their names. Civill letters, as they call'd them, were wrote to friends and foes promiſcouſlie, and ſoumes deſired, as it was thought they could convenientlie ſpare them. Monie came in apace, in greater plentie than we had a notion of; but it was eaſie to judge, that tho' the common people were pay'd half in meale, and half in monie, that it would not be longe ſufficient to the great numbers we expected would joyn us. It was certaine, the Highlandmen would contribute nothing to their own ſubſiſtance, and even their Chiefs were to be pay'd out of the firſt and readieſt, each of them as he was pleaſed to put a value on himſelf. So many poor Lords were likewiſe to be ſupported, according to their qualitie, and the better they lived, the more influence they'd have on the leſſer ſorte. Numbers of gentlemen, a good many of whome I could name, were to receave under-

hand to render them more uſefull to doe ſervice, and when others of viſible eſtates, who were draind every way, and complaining of being ſtraitned and feard want, they ſeemed ſurpriſed, ſuore on, and talkt big. My Lord Mar himſelf was to keep a table at the public expence, for, tho' a very great man, [he] never had to bear his own charges, far leſs that of his favourites, who were all on the ſame foot with himſelf. Mr Francois Steuart, brother to the Earle of Murray,[1] was made threſaurer, and a committee was eſtabliſht for providing the armie with fourage and meale. Tho' orders were given out to form into regiments, everic one did as they pleaſed. My Lord Drummond, who had got ſix hundred men together under his name, tho' a great part of them belonged to Lord Strothallan,[2] Logie,[3] and his other nighbours, who he teazed to follow him, and endeavoured to paſs all upon the world as Highlandmen, being extreamlie ambitious to be thought a Highland Chief,[4] formed them in three battalions, contrarie to everie bodies advice, who told him they'd make one good, but could not make three. His Lordſhip laught at thoſe ignorant people, who did not know the mode in France; and being ſo takne with the ſound of the firſt, ſecond, and third battalion of Drummond, there was no perſuading him to the contrarie, he imagineing himſelf a great prince, who had three battalions at his diſpoſall, and the haveing ſo many Collonells and Lieut.-Collonells, and other commiſſions to give, pleaſed him above all things, and, for the ſame reaſon, made the companies as little as poſſible. By that means he and others about that time carried out of the Fife ſquadron nere fortie horſe, by picking out all the ſprightlieſt younge gentlemen to make officers amongſt the foot, which therc was no diſſuadeing them from doeing, becauſe they got the rank of Captains, Liutennants, and Enſignes. They never haveing

[1] He was fourth son of Alexander sixth Earl of Moray, and, by the death of his brothers, succeeded to the dignity himself in 1736, and carried on the line of the family.

[2] William Drummond, fourth Viscount of Strathallan. He was killed at the Battle of Culloden, 1746.

[3] Drummond of Logie-Almond.

[4] Notwithstanding the author's sneer, the Drummonds had, by the influence of their property, a great Highland following.

ſerved, added to the confuſion of thoſe they did not know; for, I ſuppoſe, none but ſuch as have ſerved can be uſefull in a mob, except they know them, and have a reſpect for them, and rather occaſion a deſertion, not being able to bear the command of ſtrangers, to whome they can't applie to make their little complaints, and from whome they don't expect anie redreſs of their grievances. In the mean time, theſe gentlemen, their ſervants, and horſes, which laſt was what we wanted moſt, were loſt to the ſervice. I complained of all this to my Lord Mar, to no purpoſe, and propoſed, at leaſt to avoide the bad conſequence of it, to take the ſerviceable horſes from them, and give Galloways in their place, which was all that was needfull to thoſe amongſt the foot, when we had moſt to fear the want of cavallrie. But his Lordſhip's buſineſs being more to pleaſe everie bodie, by letting them follow their own humor, than diſpoſe of them uſefullie in croſſing their humor, took no notice of it. My Lord Drummond was not now content to be a great prince at home, but muſt come into a forraigne ſervice, and be made Liutennant-General of the Horſe, which was the command of the whole gentlemen; whether it was that he was the man of the beſt familie, or becauſe of his diſtinguiſht prudence, for he had ane equall pretenſion to both, I can't tell, but I'm apt to believe the modeſtie of others gave him the beſt title to it, with the opinion Mar had, of a man of his qualifications being more uſefull to him than anie other in ſo deſperat and pernicious a project. Houever, Mar and he were ſenſible that was not to be ſpoke of till a ſtratagem was fallne on to ſend his favourite ſervant, Will. Drummond, out of the way for tuo-three weeks; who pretended to come back from France with great neus, and brought alonge with him the King's commiſſion to my Lord Drummond, to command the horſe. So, by a ſtrange unaccountable jumble of lyes and accidents, the tuo men in Scotland the moſt unacceptable, got at the head of all, the one, as I have alreadie ſaid, the moſt abhorred for his villanies, and the other the moſt contemptible for his follies.

But the King's commiſſion was ſalvo enough againſt all other objections, as well as that generall rule Mar himſelf had ſet before him in the beginning, that no Catholick was to have a command; which, in the main, was to extend no further then Huntlie.

But this was not the onlie time in our affair that his name was made uſe of to his own loſs and his friends ruine.

Tho' we were onlie four ſquadrons of horſe in Pearth, we could not agree about the poſt of honour, and in this, as well as in all other things in the whole courſe of our affair, it would appear that thoſe who had the leaſt title to any thing expected moſt. All the others took it ill that Linlithgow, whoſe ſquadrone was weak, and moſtlie compoſed of Stirvelingſhire gentlemen, which was the youngeſt countie, ſhould carrie the Royall Standard. They had to ſay for themſelves, that ſome of them were in the Highlands at its firſt ſetting up, and haveing got it then, were reſolved to keep it, and thought they had the beſt title to it. The others ſaid, there were as many of them there as of thoſe of Striveling. Houever, the prudenteſt part were willing to ſatiſfie themſelves with anie excuſe or pretext, and the diſpute ſprunge more from Linlithgow's airs he was giveing himſelf, than anie other reaſon; for, one day, being draun all out on the North Inch, Linlithgow came up, bluſtering, before his ſquadrone, and ordered ſome other to change their ground, and give him the right, and ſuore he would have it. Methvine took him up, and told him, That the gentlemen of Perthſhire were not all come up as yet, but, when they did, they'd make a ſtronger ſquadrone as his, and believed they would not yeeld to his threats; but if, to keep his hand in uſe, he'd goe and talk big to the Fife ſquadrone, who, he pointed out to him, he did not doubt but they'd ride him and his ſquadrone doun.

The truth was, I had put my ſquadrone out of the way, to avoide diſputes, till things were regulated. After that, Fife and Pearthſhire differ'd in their ranking; for, tho' it was advanced Fife gave the firſt vote in all the Scots Parliements, after the Peers, yet Perthſhire had always proteſted againſt it. To put ane end to that diſpute, I propoſed throwing the dice, but that was not gone into, leaſt our confuſions ſhould not [have] continued.

Linlithgow, finding that nobodie puſht that diſpute againſt him, was not now content with what was alloued him by a connivance, or to let things ſtand as they were, he perſuaded Mar to make a review of the horſe; and, becauſe his ſquadrone was neither ſtronge enough, or ſo well mounted as he wiſht them, at the review, it was ordered, that we were to give fourteen

of our beſt mounted gentlemen out of each of the other three ſquadrons, Fife, Pearthſhire, and Angus, to ſerve in the royall ſquadrone, for which Linlithgow was to ſend us back five or ſix of his worſt. Certainlie one muſt have been as weak as Linlithgow, to pleaſe his imagination with the thought that anie bodie would yeeld to a propoſale of that kind, or make his indiſcretion their rule, as if anie thing had depended on him and his ſquadrone more than on ours. We ſent him the number, but they were ſuch that they were contented with the ſight of them, and did not think fit to keep, and returned them back to us. Tho' Mar was very glade to take all occaſions to make friends, houever unreaſonable their pretenſions were, yet Linlithgow had ſo little weight amongſt us, he could be of little or no uſe to him, nor could anie obligation make him more dependent than he was alreadie, haveing nothing to recommend him but Mar's favour; which makes me ſuppoſe, that Mar's true motive was to eſtabliſh himſelf the better by divideing as much as he could all followings, and breaking bonds, ſo that being once done, all muſt have ane equall dependance upon him, and as new to one another as the whole was to him; nor did he care to whome he gave influence, provided he took it from thoſe who had it. It was in vaine for me to repreſent it was doeing harme to the ſervice, for no mixt number could agree ſo well together as thoſe of the ſame countie, who pleaſed themſelves with the choice of their oun leader, and who knew one another; nor, when it came to actione, could they behave ſo well, as where everie man, who knows thoſe about him, is a check upon his nighbour, which is the reaſon given, that even in regular ſervices, detachments never doe ſo well as whole corps; yea, I have ſeen it in a day of actione, that all the officers of the ſame regiment were put as nere their companies they ſerved in as poſſible, without a ſtrict regarde to ſenioritie, and amongſt gentlemen, where there is a friendſhip, it animates them to ſtick to one another; and the honour of a countie will have in ſome meaſure the ſame effect on them, at leaſt its to be ſuppoſed ſo, as the honour of ane old corp will have on ſouldiers. I ſaid, If Linlithgow did not think his ſquadron good enough to carrie the Royall Standard, it was but giveing it to mine, which was of the firſt countie, and the ſtrongeſt and beſt mounted, and we would take care of it; or give it to

who they pleaſed, or keep it, and he ſhould be at full liberty to think himſelf a better man than any of us, provided he would not force us to think ſo, for in that caſe he'd put the neceſſitie upon us of undeceaveing him.

My Lord Tullibardine, Lord Charles, and Lord George Murrays formed each of them regiments out of the Athole men and thoſe of Tullibardine, as did their uncle, Lord Nairne,[1] ſome ſtronger, and ſome weaker, as they could get thoſe men to follow them. My Lord Ogilvie,[2] ſon to the Earle of Earlie, a very younge gentleman, and repreſentative of a verie noble familie, and who was ſaid to be of the firſt who was engaged, formed a regiment out of the Killiemure and Glenproſſen men, and made Sir James Kinloch,[3] who joyn'd him with his followig, his Lieut.-Collonell. Steuart of Indernitie[4] did the ſame with the Garntillie men who folloued him. We, of the horſe, were order'd to divide each ſquadrone in three companies, and name our officers for each company. It was no eaſie taſk to get everie bodie to agree to be commanded by the ſame officers who were to be named out of the gentlemen; for we had nobodie who had ſerved, and a great manie aſpired to a greater or leſſer command; and, as on all ſuch occaſions, theſe who deſerved leaſt, or were good for leaſt, puſht hardeſt for it. I told thoſe who I was concerned in, That no man muſt pretend to be Major but one who had ſerved; and till ſuch was found, I'd have none. As to the Captains, Liutenants, and Cornets, after tuo day's diſpute, we at laſt named them, tho', I can't ſay, to everie bodies ſatiſfaction; yet we ſeemed to agree in it rather better than the other regiments, as they

[1] Lord William Murray, fourth son of John, Marquis of Athole, who enjoys the title of Lord Nairne by marriage with Margaret, the heiress of that ancient family.

[2] James, Lord Ogilvie, son and heir to David, third Earl of Airley.

[3] Sir James Kinloch of that Ilk, in Perthshire. His father, Sir David Kinloch, was created a Baronet by James II. He died 1744.

[4] John Stewart of Invernitie, descended from a cadet of the family of Stewart of Grandtully. The instance in the text is one amongst many of the policy exercised by the more prudent Jacobites in these uncertain times. The Chief or Representative of a great family staid at home and professed submission, while it often happened that some cadet or younger brother possessed influence enough to bring out his followers and clan. Thus *lands and tenements* committed no treason.

called them; but no bodie conſented to be Corporalls, becauſe it was honour, and not fatigue, they wanted; in that caſe neither countrie nor cauſe was conſidered. Some, who did not think juſtice was done to their merite, endeavoured, at that time, to get commiſſions in the foot; amongſt others, Mr Carſtairs of Kinucher, who was diſoblidged for not being made a Captaine, and being prepoſſeſſt with the fancie that ſome time or other he was to be a great man, got himſelf made Major to my Lord Tullibardine; I don't know how, never haveing been a ſojer, and not ſpeaking one word of the language of the people he was to be amongſt. He and his ſervants happneing to be well mounted, I complained to my Lord Mar of the loſs that ſuch humors occaſion'd to the ſervice, and of the little uſe he was the other way, and threatning to lay him in arreſt, he was ordered back to his ſquadron, where I perſuaded the gentlemen, contrarie to all their inclinations, to make him a Liutennant. Theſe particulars I mention, to ſhew how follie and vanitie got oftne the better of our intereſt, and that thoſe who pretended to be moſt forward for the King and Countrie were thoſe who importuned hardeſt for themſelves, and made up with impudence what they wanted of title, of which many inſtances can be given.

For my own part, I can appeall to a certaine friend of mine who did not engage in that affair, but the beſt friend I ever had in my life, and, if any in Scotland, a man off undoubted caracter, who can witneſs that I was reſolved to take no command upon me before I went out; and that I went out with that deſſigne. There needed no witchcrauft to know, that whoever had a command amongſt ſuch irregular people muſt be unhappy; and that the greater the command was, the more one had to anſuer for, and the greater riſque he run of haveing the ruine of his Countrie imputed to him; the leaſt inſinuation of which is a hard charge to a man of honour, and, if convicted, what no good man ought to ſurvive; and the want of command no great ſelf-deniell to him who ſaw how all would goe from the beginning. But finding ane intire want of officers, which I had leaſt reaſon to ſuſpect, haveing ſo many in France, and contrarie to all I was made believe; and that the worthleſeſt, and bankrupts, aſſumed, and got commands, I did not know in whoſe hands my friends might fall; and, find-

ing no bodie who had ſerved ſo longe as myſelf, to recommend them to; the ſame reaſon which brought me out, which was the ſervice of my Countrie, and love to my friends, made me keep that command which naturallie devolved upon me, till ſome officer of diſtinction and ſervice had joyned us; to whome I reſolved to reſigne it, and turn corporall or agitant, to make him the eaſier obeyed, and at ſame time reproach the impudence and emptineſs of thoſe lords and others, who, tho' they had no influence, were not ſatiſfied with being colonells, when they were not capable of being corporalls, and whom it would be hard to find a uſe for, except that of ruining their Countrie; of which capacitie their private management in their domeſtick affairs had given undoubted proofs, as well as the onlie reaſonable grounds of their conduct at that time, for, ſince they were ofgoeing, they had a mind to leave their Countrie with eclât, which they could not lived in but in miſerie. Except ſome few who may pleade ignorance, or *non compos*, to whome I'm ſure ſo juſt a plea will never be refuſed, it will be hard to perſuade the world that the conſideration of having conſiderablie to looſe, wont, in many caſes, be a checque to prudent men, and wont hinder them to act intirlie on their own judgement in things that muſt be of the laſt conſequence; for he who thinks he has reaſon to know what he is doeing may take upon him, but to be ignorant and undertake is a voluntar breaking of one's neck. Certain it is, that a good man in ſuch circumſtances, who can't reaſonablie imagine he knows any thing of ane affair of that kind, ſuppoſeing he has nothing to looſe, if he has the leaſt regarde for his Countrie, will be ſo far from preſſing himſelf into a great rank, that he ought to look on the neceſſitie of accepting of it as a great miſſortune; and, like that Spartan, who, after offering his ſervice to his countrie, when they were of picking out three hundred of the braveſt of that Republick to joyn the other Grecians for the defence of the Thermopyle, and finding himſelf rejected, was overjoyed that three hundred braver men than he were found in Lacedemon; ſuch at leaſt, I ſay, ought to been the diſpoſition of a good Scotſman, who was conſcious of his own ignorance and incapacitie to command. But everie day teaches us to diſtinguiſh betuixt ſuch as are true lovers of their countrie, and thoſe who make uſe of the cant of diſintereſted loyaltie onlie to deceave princes: it's to be preſumed

the laſt will in end ſucceed in baniſhing the firſt out of the world, and that countrie will ſoon ſerve for nothing but the being imployed, no matter how, in gaining the friendſhip of princes. For my part, I can't help thinking ſo when I ſee the greateſt of Hero's, whoſe exemple all ought to ſet before them, valueing himſelf the one day to one Prince, for ſelling his countrie to doe him ſervice, and recommending himſelf ſufficientlie to another Prince next day for willfullie ruineing it, under a pretext of ſerveing him. When the unluckie wretch who has no ſuch plea to make to either, is thought ane enemie to both, and muſt deſervedlie ſuffer for it.

I know it's ſaid, by my Lord Mar's followers, that it was my not being advanced to one of the firſt poſts, occaſions my makeing thoſe reflections, as well as [to] differ from his Lordſhip of Mar; being glade to have any reaſon believed for our diſagreeing, except the true. To this I anſuer, that I had influence on a greater number of gentlemen than any Lord there, except Mariſhall and Huntlie, and nothing inferiour to the firſt; that I was ſo far from courting thoſe gentlemen to ruine themſelves, or inſnareing them by ſpreading lyes to deceave them, as the few Lords who had anie influence did, that the gentlemen courted me when I did what I could to hinder them from being mad. They had all competitors and rivalls in their commands, for Huntlie, who I don't name here as on a footing with us, complained of Mariſhall's getting from him, by trick, a part of his followeing. Southeſque had Strathmore to compeat with him for the command of the gentlemen of Angus. My Lord Rollo[1] and Collonell Hay,[2] who, ſupported by my Lord Mar, becauſe his brother-in-law, brought it tuice to a vote of the gentlemen of the Pearthſhire ſquadrone which of them ſhould command, and loſt it as oftne, in ſpite of Mar's influence. Linlithgow would had as little to keep him in countenance as a great many other Lords whoſe names I need not mention, if Mar had not given him the Royal Standard,[3] which brought him a command out of all ſorts of

[1] Robert, fourth Lord Rollo. He died 1758.

[2] The Honorable Colonel John Hay of Cromlix, third son of Thomas, seventh Earl of Kinnoul, brother consequently to Mar's first wife.

[3] It was carried by Edmonston of Newton, exiled for aiding and abetting Graham of Inchbraco in the slaughter of John, Master of Rollo, 8th May 1691.

people, and made up but a weak ſquadrone at beſt. In my command of the Fife gentlemen I had no rivall, even tho' I made my court to Mar firſt and laſt but very ill, by telling my opinion of him very plainlie; nor was it in his pouer to ſtir up a rivall againſt me, even tho' he gave a commiſſion of Collonell to Major Balfour, a gentleman under my command, tuo months before any other publick commiſſion was given, with no other deſſigne, which I knew all the while; and even at laſt I refuſed his Lordſhip's commiſſion of Collonell, till I was preſſed by my friends, who ſaid, it would be to command the Fife ſquadrone, ſaying, That my friends had allou'd me to command them till then without Mar's order, and I had no doubt they'd continue to doe ſo, and whenever they wearied of it I ſhould be very eaſie. Had I deſſigned any greater, my Lord Mar muſt have complied with my importunitie or follie, as well as with theirs, and, I flatter myſelf, that none of them would had any thing to ſay againſt it; but I challenge any to ſay I ever aſkt one. I muſt take the freedom to tell thoſe Lords, leaſt they ſhould miſtake me, or imagine its my own pride and vanitie that makes me ſay ſo much of them, No; it does not proceed from the good opinion I have of myſelf, but the bad one I have of them.

While everie one was building caſtles in the air, and makeing themſelves great men, moſt of our armes were good for nothing; there was no methode fallne on, nor was the leaſt care takne to repair thoſe old ruſtie brokne piceis, which, it ſeems, were to be carried about more for ornament than uſe, tho' gunſmiths were not wanting; but this was either becauſe he who took upon him the command expected no pouder from the beginning; or becauſe, what was everie bodies buſineſs was no bodies.

The noiſe of the Duke of Berwick's landing did now decreaſe daylie, as if there were no more need of him, my Lord Mar being now fixt, and all were as well ſatiffied as if they had been in a ſolide laſting ſtate of happieneſs; in ſhort, it would been a hereſie to ſaid we wanted either pouder, armes, officers, or men of head. The faults which proceed from want of ſenſe are incurable, for, ſince ignorant people have not the leaſt degree of knouledge of themſelves, it would be ſtrange to ſee them find out what they want, and much more to ſee them find out a ſpeedie remedie, or correct them. Tuo things have oftne moved my admiration above all I

have ever ſeen or heard in my life ; the firſt is, the trouble and pains thoſe people had been at, for near thirtie years, to contrive their own ruine ; the ſeconde, how I, who knew them, and lookt on them with contempt from my infancie, could, with open eyes, be led into the ſame nooſe with them. Had I continued abroad, and not been tuo years at home, when I had ſufficient occaſion to refreſh my memorie, I'd lookt on myſelf as one of the worſt of men not to have poſted it from the furtheſt corner of the earth to ſhare in the fate of my countrie ; but, after knowing their preparations, and the leaders, and then to engage, or have the leaſt hand in it, I do own deſerves no leſs than hangeing. My Lord Mar's great and onlie buſineſs was now to put Huntlie, Mariſhall, and Seaforth, in mind of their promiſes, and preſs them, by his letters, full of lyes and great hopes, to joyn him with all ſpeed ; the ſame care was takne of the Clans, as they then begun to call them, Clan Ronald, Glengarie,[1] Lochiell,[2] and Steuart of Apin ; who got their orders to marche into Argyleſhire, under the command of Generall Gordone, to diſarme the one half of the Duke of Argyle's following, and bring off the other, who, it was ſaid, were willing to joyn us. Tho' none of all thoſe were at that time ſtirring, yea, ſome did not move for ſome months afterwards, we were made believe, day after day, that thoſe who were to joyn us were at hand, and that the others were on their marche back from Argyleſhire towards us, haveing ſucceeded. Letters likwiſe wrote, with great aſſiduitie, to all the countrie gentlemen about, and emiſſaries ſent to bringe them in, out of fear that anie had been ſo luckie to eſcape. I ſhall never forget what Mr Hope of Rankillo, one of thoſe of the Fife countie who was laſt of joyning us, ſaid to me and ſeverall

[1] Alexander Macdonell, Baron of Glengary, called the Black. He made a great figure in that stormy period, and carried the Royal Standard at the Battle of Killiecrankie. He died in 1724.

[2] John Cameron of Lochiel, son of the renowned Sir Evan Dhu, of whom tradition records such extraordinary [feats.] Sir Evan was still alive in the 1715, but incapable, from his great age, of taking the field. Donald Cameron of Lochiel, son of John, and grandson of Sir Evan, united all the accomplishments of a gentleman and scholar with the courage and high spirit of a Highland Chief. He is the hero of Thomas Campbell's poem entitled " Lochiel."

others, on his firſt accoſting us, That he had come to augment the number of criminalls, out of affection to his friends. Nor that he was not tuo days amongſt us when I obſerved him of a different opinion, and his head more turned than anie of us, ſo infectious is a generall madneſs. In the beginning Generall Hamilton gave out the orders, and ſeemed to doe all things that belonged to the militarie; but, by degrees, that pouer was takne from him, and my Lord Mar took upon him the management of moſt things himſelf, with the aſſiſtance and direction of Lieut.-Coll. Clephan, a half-pay Major, who had joyned him in the Highlands. Mar had found what influence the name of a Generall had in raiſeing of people, and, as ſuch as he, who know their own merite, are jealous of everie bodie, he did not know what conſequence it might have if he allowed him to ingroſs too much pouer, eſpeciallie finding that he was ſenſible he had been as much cheated by him, if not more, than any other. On the other hand, Clephan was a creature of his own, who, by his recommendation, was advanced to be a Major in a younge regiment, and owed his very caracter to him, I won't ſay he was not more grateful to his benefactor that he was on half-pay, tho' I muſt ſay the man is well enough, and I think the worſt that can be ſaid of him is, that he owed his riſe to one, who could not be a good judge of ſervice; he had ſerved a Liutennant in the firſt war, and was made Major in Scotland, on the raiſeing a new regiment, about the middle of the laſt war, where he continued with his regiment till nere the end of the war; and haveing ſuch Collonells, who left all the care of the regiment to him, it was there he got the caracter of a great officer amongſt countrie gentlemen, or thoſe who knew nothing of their trade. When the regiment came to Flanders, they were as much out of the way as any new regiment that came from Brittain, and I don't remember they made more than tuo campagnes, where I doubt that Clephan ſaw enough to qualifie him for a Generall, tho' I can allow him to have learned the detaile of a regiment. At ſame time Mar could not hope, however pliable we were, that the weakeſt amongſt us could believe him a Generall by Divine inſpiration; and no bodie being oblidged to believe miracles, but in matters of faith, to make the thing more conceavable and naturalle, Clephan was cried up to the ſkies, and was always buzing in his ear, like Mahomet's

pigeon, ſo it was granted there wanted no more to make a conſummate Generall, but Mar's head and Clephan's practiſe. Nothing favoured us ſo much as that year's plentiefull crop, for nobodie remembered they had ever ſeen ſuch aboundance of corn in Scotland; tho' at all times that countrie we were in yeelds to very few any where for goodneſs of ſoile, yet we could never contrive it to have proviſions in ſtore, even with the help of a navigable river, which run thro' the very countrie we had our proviſions from, and by which it could been brought to the gate of the toun; and yet we were always from hand to mouth, and oftne in want, and when meale was got, could never fall on methods of backeing bread to ſerve the whole. The reaſon of which was clear; it was ſoon found, that it was needleſs for anie man to doe anie ſort of dutie, or take the leaſt care of what they had undertakne, ſo longe as it was eaſie to gaine the approbation of everie bodie, and the favour of the Generall, by authoriſeing all his lyes; which, at firſt, was the *primum mobile*, and now our onlie cement and ſupport; which never any man was more induſtrious in contriveing, and never people were fonder of ſpreading, to cheat their friends, and deceave themſelves.

I then found, by experience, how much Cardinal Mazarine was in the right, to ſay, that a lye which laſted three days was of value, for that is a ſufficient time to confirm it on the ſpot where it's hatcht; it flyes in that time by letters, and otherwiſe, into all corners, and comes back ſometime after with new force to the ſource; and if a man, by oftne telling of lyes, which nobodie believes, is at laſt convinced of the truth of them himſelf, how much more muſt he believe them who is not let into the ſecret, and his doubts cruſh't by thoſe about him, and by their returning upon him ratiefied, from all hands. It would be endleſs, as well as to no purpoſe, to deſcend to the detaile of thoſe lyes, and one muſt have wrote ſhort hand, and been very attentive, and nothing elſe to doe or think of all the while, to pretend to give ane account of the one halfe of them. Such were the advantages of his Lordſhip of Mar's fertile brain, and his longe practice, and ſuch the volubilitie of the tongues of thoſe employed about him, and ſuch the ſtupid diſpoſition and voracious appetite of others to ſuallow and diſgeaſt them. Sometimes we were favoured with repititions of

the former, with plauſible circumſtances to ſerve the preſent time, and to refreſh our memories, that we might continue to build on them. But what, I remember, was now moſt in vogue, beſides the inexpreſſible number of foot, and the many ſquadrones of horſe Huntlie and Seaforth were bringing us, all armed infinitelie better than what we were, Mariſhall was bringing up ſix hundred horſe, well mounted, and a large boat's load of pouder, which he had takne from the Whigs of Aberdeen, who were ſending it to Leith; which, tho' chieflie calculated for our meridien, had its own weight with Huntlie, Seaforth, and Sir Donald MacDonald, who were furtheſt north, and the Clans in the weſt. But what was directlie calculated for them was new aſſurances of half of the troopes deſerting the Duke of Argyle, and ſome of the Gray Dragoons[1] comeing in daylie; for, tho' not tuo hundred men, they were a greater terrour than all the others, and his Lordſhip, for that reaſon, was reſolved they ſhould come firſt over to us; and to encourage further, to get them out, our numbers were repreſented no ſmaller to them, in proportion, than theirs were to us; in a word, everie thing was ſaid according to exigencies. For my own part, I was ſo nauſeated with them, I was glade not to hear them, or, when I did, to forget them. Nor can I tell how anie bodie can believe that we either were, or would be, ſuch ſtrangers to our own numbers, and ſpeak as ignorantlie of thoſe who were to joyn us, as if we talkt of the Sophie of Perſia, the Great Mogul, the Cham of Tartarie, or the Grand Sultan. For that, one muſt tranſport himſelf in imagination into Scotland, and to act and think as we did then, muſt adopt our ſentiments, our inclinations, and our ignorance, eſpouſe our intereſts, our quarrells, our jealouſies, our fears, and our hopes, and, even then, fiction can't ſcreu up the imagination ſo far as theſe different paſſions and affections did in reallitie us.

[1] The Dragoons, called the Scots Greys, for many years maintained a character greatly superior to that of an ordinary regiment. They never gave a bounty exceeding a crown, and were recruited from a class of persons greatly superior to those who usually enter the army, such as the sons of decent farmers and tradesmen, who felt a vocation for the army. No ignominious punishment was ever inflicted, and a criminal, who had merited such, was previously transferred to another regiment.

If humane judgement makes ſo little advances, when all its application is bent on a ſtrickt ſearche of the truth, what muſt it be when it abandons itſelf to its own weight, and does not act but by humour.

This has put me on reflecting on the caſe of mankind in generale, and whoever will doe ſo with me, will find that they are almoſt all plounged into ſuch ſtupidite, that if it does not intirelie extinguiſh their reaſon it leaves them ſo little uſe of it, that it's ſurpriſeing how a ſoule can be reduced into ſo brutiſh a ſtate. What does an Iroquen, a Negre, a Laplander, a Scots Weſtern Iſlander, yea, a Highlandmen, think of? Is it not hunting, fiſhing, ſtealeing, plundering, and revengeing themſelves of their enemies? But, without goeing further to ſeek exemples of the ſtupiditie of men, what does the greateſt part of work people think? Of their work, of eateing, drinking, ſleeping, to get what's oweing them, and a ſmall number of other objects. They are almoſt inſenſible of all others; and the cuſtome they have of turneing in that little circle, makes them incapable of conceaveing any thing out of it. If you talk to them of honour, religion, or the rules of moralite, either they don't underſtand, or they forget in a moment that which is ſaid to them, and returns the minute into that circle of groſs objects to which they are accuſtomed. If, by nature, they are very diſtant from the ſtate of beaſts, nevertheleſs they differ very little from them, according to the idea we have of them; for the notion we conceave of a beaſt is, that it is ane animall which thinks, but thinks little, and has nothing but confuſed, groſs ideas, and onlie capable to conceave a ſmall number of objects. So we conceave a horſe to be ane animall who thinks of eateing, drinking, ſleeping, running, and returning to his ſtable. I can't tell if this idea is more properlie that of a horſe than that of a ſtupid man, and yet you need not add much to it to form that of a Highlandman. Nevertheleſs, the number of people who don't think at all, and have their thoughts imployed onlie on the preſent neceſſaries of life, is ſo great, that the number of thoſe whoſe judgement has more reach and penetration is nothing in compariſon to them; for in Chriſtendom that number of ſtupide people comprehends almoſt all the people of work and laboures, almoſt all the poor, and the greateſt part of women of the louer rank; all thoſe think of nothing through the courſe of their life but to ſatiffie the neceſſities of

their bodies, ways and means to live, to ſell, to buy; and yet they form but confuſed enough thoughts of all thoſe objects. But in the barbarous countries it comprehends whole Nations, and all people, without diſtinction. It's certaine that thoſe who work, and all the poor people of the world, think leſs than others, and work makes their ſoules more heavie; riches, on the other hand, gives leiſure and freedom to men, and allows them to converſe the one with the other, their imploying their ſpirits by the obligations they have of treating together about their private affairs rouzes and awakes a little, and hinders that their ſoules ſhould not fall into that ſtupiditie. This is the ſtate of moſt of countrie gentlemen, or thoſe of the middle rank, and tho' the circle they move in be larger, yet they are ſtill clog'd by the commerce with thoſe of the louer rank, and by continuell habitudes with them, who are ſo numerous, that they muſt accommodate themſelves to them. So, no ſooner they goe out of that ſphere to which they are confined, than they, for want of principles, found on vulgar errours, which oftne expoſes or looſes them. But, if you'll join to wealth a happy education, and ane earlie converſation with ſuch as have ſeen the one, by the one the ſoule gains more activitie, and by the other, inſtead of prejudices, formes juſt ideas.

In end, to finiſh the picture of human weakneſs, or the weakneſs of our judgement, it muſt likewiſe be conſidered that however juſt its thoughts are, it is oftne carried off from that juſtneſs as if with violence, by the natural wildneſs of our imagination; a hundred uſeleſs ideas will at one time or other come croſs to it, trouble it, and confound it, in ſpite of all; and he is ſo little maſter of himſelf, that he can't hinder himſelf to relie on phantoms, in quitting objects of the greateſt importance. Mayn't we, then, juſtly call that ſtate follie, even in thoſe who paſs for the wiſeſt. For follie compleat conſiſts in ane intire diſorder of the imagination, which comes from the livelineſs of the images which it preſents, ſo that the judgement can't diſtinguiſh the falſe from the true; in the ſame manner, the pouer that it hath to preſent thoſe images to the judgement by ſurprize, is the reaſon of our falling into little follies everie day; and to make it compleat follie, it's but augmenting the heat of the braine ſome degrees, and rendring the images a little more livelie: ſo, betwixt the wiſeſt

man on earth and the greateſt fool, ther's but ſome degrees of heate and agitation of ſpirits. And we are not onlie oblidged to acknouledge that we are capable of great follies, but we muſt own, that we find the follie formed in us, without knouing what hinders the finiſhing of the intire overturning of our judgement. It will be eaſier to make the application, than make it reliſh. If the ſituations of countries, by want of commerce, or, if the conditions of men, can have ſo pouerful influences on their ſpirits, what could be expected from thoſe in ſo remote a corner of the world as ours. I know this will appear new, to hear the Scots, who, to doe them juſtice, have paſſed in Europe for ſo many ages for a polite, warlick, and wiſe people, claſſed amongſt Nations ſo oppoſite to that caracter; and yet I think it can't be denyed that our Highlandmen, who made up by very far our greateſt number, ever were thought polite, learned, or warlike; for, in all our wars with England, I don't remember they had anie great ſhare in them. They are active enough; but its the ſame activite that they have in common with all ſuch people as they, and conſiſts onlie in the exerciſe of the bodie, acquired by their way of liveing and ſituation; as to that of the mind, it appears onlie in a mean cunning, which ſtill turns in their own little circle.

Whoever will look back into the hiſtories of all ages will find that the polite Nations were the onlie who were capable of great feats of war. Houever formidable the infinite numbers of barbariens were to the Greciens, were they not allways routed by hanfulls of them? But to ſay nothing of theſe effeminate Eaſtern Nations, Did not a few Roman legions, with diſcipline, paſs over the bellies of all thoſe ſavage Nations who truſted moſt to their own courage, and had much more to fear, from their infidelitie, and ſuddain fierce ſallies, of which onlie all ſuch people are capable off, than from their arms in a pitched battle? But, it may be ſaid, How can ane imputation of that kind reach the whole? If it is alloued, which I think undeniable, that it's commerce with other Nations that poliſhes and inſtructs; to have had that onlie more than a hundred years agoe, is the ſame at preſent with not to have had it at all; or, to have it in a little meaſure, onlie differs from a little to none. Our arms had a reputation, but the ſame thing muſt be ſaid of them; and that we have not anie thing

of that kind to value ourſelves on theſe hundred years, ſince we fell into that Engliſh ſervitude, and loſt our oun Kings; and to imagine that the grandſon, or the great-grandſon, of a ſojer, muſt be a ſojer now of days, is very ridiculous; that is a trade that is not tranſmitted to poſteritie by tradition, without the leaſt exerciſe of it; and if it could, or theſe old gentlemen were alive, they'd find themſelves mightilie at a loſs. It's my opinion, things in generall have changed very much ſince that time, and men have ſubtilized in everie thing; and, tho' what we ſee to-day, in moſt caſes, does not reſemble what we ſaw ſome years agoe, I believe it's in war that they have moſt refined in. And what commerce or correſpondence has our countrie gentlemen had with anie of thoſe Nations in Europe that have been in war? Is not this impudent, when we have had ſo many corps abroad? That onlie ſerves to prove that Scotſmen are as docile and capable of improvement, as thoſe of any Nation of Europe, which is not called in queſtion. We have, indeed, had them abroad; but ſo much the worſe for us; theſe regiments onlie ſerved to draine us of our beſt men, and our men of ſpirit; and have they not always turned renegadoes, and been imployed againſt us. But ſuppoſe diſcipline could be taught with as little paine over a bottle, as ſome think they can fight over a bottle, and any of thoſe gentlemen in ſervice had miſtakne himſelf ſo far as to tell his friends what was neceſſarie, ſuppoſe armes and horſes, and ſuch things that there's no need of being a ſojer to know, would they not conceaved a worſe opinion of him then [if] he had been their declared ennemie, and in armes againſt them. Could they expect that any of thoſe gentlemen afterwards could have the leaſt regarde to thoſe people, in whome they found ſuch demonſtrations of a ſtupid ignorance, as well as a want of diſpoſition to be informed? I believe, out of ane antipathie they had to thoſe who wore red-coats, and becauſe they fought with armes, and order, and other neceſſaries, they were determined they'd fight without them. For my part, I can't find out another reaſon for it, except it be alloued to alledge that thoſe Lords, who were formerlie at their heads, not being ſojers themſelves, and prudentlie conſcious of their own wants, never deſigneing to hazard, thought it enough to keep up their caracter amongſt the gentlemen of their partie with big talking; which, by the help of the old Jacobite

officers, no leſs ignorant than the gentlemen, was authoritie ſufficient, that there was nothing wanting but the will to ſet their countrie to rights, and recover all, whenever they pleaſed to take the trouble. It would be a hard cenſure to ſay all thoſe leaders had the ſame deſſignes, which are generallie as different as men's faces, or the paſſions that rule them; but they all tended to the ſame end, and forming in the whole that incorrigible ignorance. Their ſons, who were tainted with this education, which, meeting in them no greater genious to war than was in their fathers, tho' they had many greater occaſions to learn it, found it very much for their honour to continue the ſame cant, and, by a longe habit of recruiting with wine, and fighting with bottles and glaſſes, imagined themſelves all Generalls, and ſaved themſelves the trouble of going to Flanders to fight in that damned cauſe, which they'd have thought ſo oppoſite to their intereſts; as if, by that, they muſt have degenerate, or there had been no armie in Europe, but that under Engliſh pay, or the King of France was to owe them ane obligation for not ſerveing againſt him, for, in that caſe, he would have been demoliſht. Beſides, I am apt to believe my Lord's mother would have been diſturbed after hearing of a battle, and with the thought of his Lordſhip lying on ſtraw, and rather chooſe to marrie him, and beget younge drones.

If, by theſe maxims, thoſe in Scotland turned their own heads, and have not a little contributed to their countrie's ruine, thoſe abroad have contributed no leſs both to it and the King's; firſt, by the Miniſters of St Germains' ſingular addreſs to be always in bad terms with the Court of France; next, by their own diſagreements and diviſions, which was generallie folloued, by their different applications, to thoſe at home; as they affected, and never failed to produce animoſities and jealouſies amongſt their own friends, as if they had artfullie contrived it; next, the ſending all alonge ſuch ſtrange apoſtles to Scotland, inſtead of men of credite, capable to rectifie their errours and judgements, and lay before them the neceſſarie methods of ſerveing the King and themſelves, the followiug of which they ought to repreſented to them as abſolutelie neceſſarie to recommend them to his Majeſtie. So far from that, thoſe who were ſent were ſuch who neither had diſcretion or judgement, and leſs authoritie; and oftne ſuch as thoſe of

greater prudence would not ſee, and had orders to ſay all things to all men, and, in one word, to flatter everie one in his follie; to tell them their Maſter would ſee them next year, and that they need not be at trouble about any thing, for all would be done to their hands, which they found was what pleaſed beſt. They got the caracters from the laſt they were with of thoſe they were to goe to, that, if poſſible, they might give them ſome marks of the King's knouing them particularlie, and of his haveing them, more than anie bodie, in his eye, and his dependance upon them; which made them very vaine for a little time, till the meſſengers were gone, and people begun to compare notes, that they found themſelves laught at, and that the ſame compliments were made to all the King knew, and all he did not know, without diſtinction: And went back to St Germains, telling the King might hazard when he pleaſed, Scotland was readie; and the truth is, a great many uſed to tell them they deſired no aſſiſtance from France, all they wanted was the King's preſence. One, who I ſaw, had indeed brought tuentie thouſand crouns to diſperſe amongſt the Highlandmen, as he ſaid, for buying of armes; and, in caſe that ſoume had been put to the right uſe, it was left to the management of my Lord Drummond, I believe, becauſe there was not a man in Scotland who had ſo great a reputation of finding out the ſecret of ſquandering his oun ſo idly as his Lordſhip, without either he or anie bodie elſe knouing what had become of it. If this monie had not the pretended effect of getting armes, yet it had the uſuall effect of all the St Germain meſſages; for, as Huntlie told me, it was made uſe of by my Lord Drummond to buy off his and other's vaſſalls thro' the Highlands, to ſerve the King, under Drummond's banner, to create a jealouſie amongſt the whole, rather than his Lordſhip of Drummond ſhould not appear the great man; and his Lordſhip, to make a gratefull return, and ſhew how much he deſerved that truſt, aſſured his Majeſtie of his haveing tuo thouſand tuo hundred men at his ſervice. This in a liſt, that a friend of mine ſaw, of the Highland Chiefs ſending to the King, where, after everie one had given in his oun numbers, Drummond had not much to pretend to. Being, by this means, the great man in truſte, and the onlie man of buſineſs, to give further proofs of his zeale and pouer, ſent his valet-de-chamber, William Drummond Mackintoſh, of

Barlome,[1] and Charles Forbes, at different times, to negotiate with the Court of St Germains, I believe, without conſulting any bodie. Their buſineſs was to bring over the King at any rate, as if all was readie.

To one who will conſider ſeriouſlie all this conduct of the Court of St Germains, and particularlie the pouer given to Drummond, whoſe name is ſufficient to give a caracter to his Plenipo's, tho' their own did not, muſt acknouledge they deſſigned tryfleing, and did theſe things onlie to exonour themſelves of what they thought their dutie, with no other aime than amuſeing the King and us, being ſatiſfied of their being more reſpected and happier abroad than they could be at home, and, for what I know, thankfullie rewarded by the Court of Engeland, for it's by appearances, and not by profeſſions, we are to judge; it's impoſſible, otherwiſe, that tuentie-eight years' miſfortunes ſhould not made them wiſer. Adding all thoſe things together, ther's nothing more certaine, that beſides our ignorance in war, occaſion'd by our diſtant ſituation from thoſe Nations in Europe who are in uſe of arms, more than ordinarie accidents have concurred, and extra-ordinarie pains have been takne to confound our reaſon, by a longe habite of wronge thinking; which threw us into extravagances more dangerous than any that can ſpringe from paſſions, and given us diſpoſitions of acting with more pleaſure, contrarie to our reaſon, than others obey it, and rendered us ſo deſpicable as to furniſh thoſe of common ſenſe ſufficient excuſes to leave us to ourſelves, ſince all efforts to diſabuſe multitudes are in vaine, who, we finding not diſpoſed to enter into all our follies, uſed badlie, and forced to run to the other extream. Theſe, in my weak judgement, are the cauſe of the diſorder of our imagination, and of the degrees of too much heat and agitation of ſpirits, which ended in the intire overturning of our reaſon, and in doun-right madneſs. But to end this longe digreſſion of the cauſes of it, to come back to the madneſs itſelf.

Mar, after comeing into Pearth, did nothing all this while but write; and, as if all had depended on his writeing, nobodie moved in any one

[1] Commonly called Brigadier M'Intosh. He had interest enough with his Chief, Lachlan M'Intosh of that Ilk, to bring out that gentleman and his Clan, although they were thought before to have held Revolution principles.

thing; there was not a word ſpoke of fortiefieing the town, nor the leaſt care takne of ſending for pouder to any place; we did not want gunſmiths, and yet none of them was imployed in mending our old armes. Whoever ſpoke of thoſe things, which I did oftne, was giveing himſelf airs; for we lived very well, and, as longe as meat, drink, and monie was not wanting, what was the need of anie more; moſt of us were goeing home everie day for our diverſion, and to get a freſh ſupplie of the readie. In that we folloued ſtrictlie the rule of the goſpell, for we never thought of to-morrow. If it eſcaped any extravagant fellow to ſay, that more troops were comeing to joyn the Duke of Argyle, from England or Ireland, he was lookt on as a viſionare; or, if any ſeemed to think, that theſe few troops he had would fight, there was no doubt he was a couard, and deſpair'd of our ſucceſs; which, I'm ſhure, they could not been ſo poſitive of in their circumſtances, but by believing no bodie would fight againſt them, which they ſaid confidentlie; but ſo ſoon as men have nothing reaſonable to truſt to, they ſeldom faile to pleaſe themſelves with phantoms, and a drouning man cautches hold of everie ſtraw.

Of manie of thoſe Lords and Chiefs of Clans who had firſt engaged ſo franklie at Aboyne, few ſeemed as yet to remember their promiſe, except Glengarie, who, it's hard to ſay whither he has more of the bear, the lyon, or the fox, in him, for he is at leaſt as ruff and cunning as he's bold; finding his nighbours backward, to encourage them, got his men together, and marched into the Braes of Glenorchie, where he continued eight days before any bodie joyned him. Captain of Clanronald, and Sir John M'Lean, were the nixt who raiſed their men; for Locheill and Stuart of Apine would by no means marche into Argyleſhire; no more would thoſe who my Lord Bredalbaine had promiſed, I believe, not being as yet determined to riſe, nor being willing to diſoblidge the Duke of Argyle; houever, they pretended they'd doe any thing but be imployed that way, and continued at home; while Generall Gordon marched on to execute his orders. How little he did there, and how much time they looſed, being fooled by my Lord Iſla, I ſhall tell you in the proper place.

The Duke of Argyle, who had not as yet above fifeteen hundred of the regular troops under his command, continued at Stirveling, without make-

ing anie mouvement; and tho' a younge man, full of fire, acted, in my private opinion, the part of ane old wary Generall. The handfull of men he had with him did not allow him to make any detachement to Pearth, which, tho' he could have takne eaſilie enough at firſt, yet had no reaſon to think would be ſo longe a time without ſuccour; and, ſuppoſeing he had takne it, he could have ſpared but a verie few to be left in guarniſon in Pearth out of his ſmall bodie in Stirveling, which paſs he was never to deſert; and Pearth requireing a great guarniſone, he could ſcarce doubt, that whatever he left there were ſo many loſt men, ſince he, nor no man, could poſſiblie imagine we had made war without the leaſt proviſion of pouder and armes, or the leaſt thing neceſſarie. Beſides, had he marched towards it with his whole little bodie, he was not ſure if the Highlandmen, who are very quick marchers, being in motion round him, might not have cut him off from Stirveling; and, as Generall Gordon's marche towards Argyleſhire threatned Glaſgow, ſo it threatned Stirveling, had the Duke of Argyle left it. Tho' this contributed to give our ignorant people courage, being improven by thoſe who deſigned to take advantage of their weakneſs, I lookt upon that conduct as the effect of the juſt judgement made by his Grace, who, knouing us to be ane undiſciplined rabble, thought it adviſeable not to give us any poſſibilitie of being put into heart by the ſucceſs of ane action of any kind; that he well knew the little experience of our leader, and was not a ſtranger to the diſtruſt that we muſt had of him; that he had cauſe to hope a ſpirit of diviſion would ſoon ſpring up amongſt us; and that, perhaps, he thought it adviſeable to give his troops, who, on ſuch occaſions, are not always ſo thoroughlie fixt in their dutie as in other wars, time to ſee the raſhneſs and diſorder of the other ſide, and of their being thereby confirmed in a ſtedfaſt adherence to their leaders, and ſufficientlie armed againſt all the invitations and private practices of the enemie; and was the more convinced of this that I remember'd that once, amongſt the manie times I had the honour of waiteing of his Grace in Flanders, I heard him ſay, That if ever he commanded againſt the Highlanders he would never be at the trouble of following them into their hills, to run the riſque of ruineing ane armie by fatigue, and giveing them any occaſion of advantages, when he could poſt himſelf ſo as to ſtarve them, if they pre-

tended to keep together, or till, by their naturall inconſtancie, they ſeparated, after which every one would doe his beſt to get terms, and put ane end to a war of that kind, without drauing of blood. Upon theſe and the like conſiderations, I failed not to repreſent it as ſuch, in order to let ſome unthinking people ſee, they were not on ſo ſure a foot as ſome would perſuade them.

It was about this time that we ſent out our firſt command to ſieze the armes at Bruntiſland. But, before I goe further, I muſt take leave to tell, that ane old friend of mine and my familie's, with whome we had longe dealing, being a merchant, called me out to the South Inch of Pearth, by ſix of the clock of a Sunday morning. I was ſurpriſed to meet him there, and was not longe of aſkeing him his buſineſs. He told me, He had rid the whole night to let me know that there was a ſmall ſhip in the harbour of Bruntiſland, loaded with armes and ammunition for the Earle of Sutherland.[1] I aſkt him, If he knew any thing of the number? He ſaid, They were at leaſt three thouſand. It's eaſie to judge I was tranſported with the news, tho', at ſame time, I doubted my friend, not that I believed he wanted zeale for our cauſe, but that I knew him to be one of thoſe whoſe imaginations are ſo ſtronge that they magnifie everie thing, and oftne makes a mountain of a mole-hill; and, for that reaſon, not being altogether ſo well with my Lord Mar, was at a loſs how to behave in it. But, on ſecond thoughts, reſolved to goe ſtraight to him, and awake him, and tell him of my information, and, at ſame time, give him the caracter of the man, that he himſelf might judge of it. I found him in bed, and told him my ſtorie, and, at ſame time, gave him the caracter of my friend. I remember I told him with vehemence, and ſaid, That, by God, what armes we could not take with us, we would leave in the Caſtle of Bruntiſland, with a good guarde. He aſkt me, If that Caſtle was ſtrong? I aſſured him it was; but that it was good to be ſhure, and we'd carrie all off with us at firſt that we could. He ſaid, That was right; but, at ſame time, I told him, tho' I believed the

[1] The Earl of Sutherland had received the King's commission to be Lieutenant in the North Highlands, and these arms had been embarked at Leith, furnished from Edinburgh Castle, to arm the Clans over whom he had influence. But the skipper, being a native of Burntisland, had put in there to see his wife and family.

thing, yet I would not anſuer for its being true in every title; for I was afraid of his Lordſhip takeing advantage of the leaſt of my miſtakes. He deſired to ſee my friend: I ſaid, He had refuſed to come into town, nor could I deſire him. He preſſed me to call him, for his buſineſs, firſt and laſt, was to plounge every man who had the leaſt friendſhip for us, and whoever offered the leaſt ſervice to us was ſure, in recompence, to be drawn in, ſooner or later; I run out, and went ſtraight to the Port, and found him, with ſome others got about him; I took him aſide, and told him Mar's deſire. He ſeemed at firſt unwilling, nor did I preſs him; but at laſt put on a cloak, and offered to goe; I carried him ſtreight to Mar's quarters. In our way thither we met James Malcome, who, I ſuppoſe, Mar had ſent for, being a great Councellour; after leading him in to Mar, I perceaved, by his Lordſhip's countenance, he wanted to be alone with him; but the moment I went out, he called in Malcome. What happned there I can't tell, onlie I can judge that nothing of conſequence was concerted. In a little time my friend came out, as did Malcome, and went to Hardie's, a vintner's; then, becauſe the one half of the affair was to be a ſecret to me, I was called for when they were gone. He talkt to me, of the way of ſeizeing thoſe armes. I told him again, That if there was ſo manie, I did not ſee how we could bring them all off at once for want of horſes; but that it was eaſie to leave what we could not bringe alonge in the Caſtle of Bruntiſland, with a good guarde. And if he would not truſt the Caſtle, there was another way to take a ſhare of them, which was by writeing to a ſervant of my own, five miles below Bruntiſland, to ſend tuo boats, who were knoun to be artfull in cheating the Cuſtome-House, and who'd carrie thoſe armes about to the Tay, in ſpite of the divill, and would not faile to be at Bruntiſland the minute I deſired, as the wind blew then. I went after that to Hardie's, without anie concluſion; and, a little after my friend went away, I was ſent for, by my Lord Mar, about eleven of the clock. He aſkt me, How I would bring off thoſe armes, in caſe I were commanded? I ſaid, I knew no other way than that which I had told him alreadie; onlie added, that what armes were to be brought alonge, muſt be done by the baggage-horſe of the armie. Coll. Clephan, who was the onlie man ſtood by, ſaid, It muſt be done by the countrie horſe, which muſt be called in. I told

him, He might as well advertice the Duke of Argyle, for that muſt make ſuch a noiſe, it would alarme the whole countrie, and ſet everie bodie agoge in toun, and he knew ſpies would goe; beſides we had loſt alreadie too much time to bringe in the countrie horſe, which was not done of a ſouddain, ſo that the baggage-horſe of the armie was the beſt; and whoever went, muſt marche out by five in the evening, to make ſure of the ſhip before ſhe could get out of the harbour; and, above all, the ports were to be all ſhut before four, to hinder intelligence, and before any bodie was commanded, or the marche ſpoke of. Mar ſaid, I was in the right; and, without ſaying more, I went to dine.

Ane hour after I was called for again, and ane order was given me, in writeing. I was ſurpriſed to find the order addreſſed to Major Balfour and me; onlie I was named, John, Maſter of Sinclair, firſt, and he, Collonell Harrie Balfour. Tho' that was the firſt conjunct command I ever ſaw, I ſaid nothing; I knew he could not leave his little waſpiſh tricks, no more than a waſp can turn its poyſon into hunnie, or a bee its hunnie into poyſon; I underſtood his deſſigne perfaitlie well, and that it was to force that gentleman into a competition with me, againſt his oun will, that, by that diviſion, his Lordſhip might profite, or make me oun a dependance on him, which I was not willing to doe in that caſe, by oweing any influence I had in my countrie to him. I knew that gentleman was one of the beſt friends I had, and would not readilie differ with me; nor, as I was ſituated, was it in Mar's pouer and his joyned, to diſcredite me with thoſe gentlemen I had under my command, ſo longe as I pleaſed to keep that command, and tho' I had not his Lordſhip's commiſſion. I had almoſt forgot to tell, that he who brought the information had told it was abſolutelie neceſſarie we ſhould be at Bruntiſland by tuelve of the clock at night at furtheſt, if we deſſigned to ſucceed, that being the time of full ſea, and the ſhip being to ſaile that tide. I told my Lord Mar, We might run ſome riſque in the back-comeing, ſince we were to paſs within ten miles of Stirveling, both in goeing and comeing back, and that we might looſe ſo much time at Bruntiſland as give the dragoons, which was the onlie thing I had to fear, time to cut us off, ſince we were not to be above fourſcore horſe. He ſeemed angrie at that reaſoning. I told him, It was good to

prevent what was very poſſible to happne, for we did not know but the Duke of Argyle might have intelligence, even from Pearth, in a few hours after we were gone; and that they had but ten miles to marche, and we were fortie, back and fore, beſides the time we might looſe in doeing our buſineſs, and returning with loadned horſes. That it was true the Duke of Argyle had not then a ſtronge bodie with him, but what he had conſiſted in dragoons, and much ſupernumerarie, yea, more than double to all our horſe, and, at leaſt, could run no riſk in ſending them out, ſince, tho' we had foot, if they could not attack us, they could always make their retreat ſafe; and put him in mind of a hundred foot being neceſſarie to be left in the Caſtle of Bruntiſland, to take care of thoſe armes we left, in caſe we could not bring all off. This he went into, againſt his will, and ſaid, He'd ſend five hundred foot after us, and poſt Indernitie at Kinroſs. Accordingly I ſet out by five of the clock with fourſcore horſe. I went out of a wronge gate, and, till it was nere dark, rid out of my road a little, to amuſe. I was not longe of finding Malcome there takeing upon him, for which I gave him ſuch a cheque, that he was like to gone back, but Mar thought nothing could be done without him; houever, I muſt doe him the juſtice to ſay, that, when I call'd for a guide, he offered himſelf, and did it very well; for I ordered him to ſhun all villages, which he did ſo well, that nobodie ſaw us, and who we met on the road, we carried alonge with us. At laſt, he who brought the information, met us three miles from Bruntiſland, and calling for me in the dark, took me aſide, and told me the ſhip was gone out of the harbour. I ſpoke to Major Balfour, and told him of what my friend ſaid, but that he was in hopes, yea, ſeem'd ſure, the ſhip was ſtill in the road, and continued our marche. I halted above a mile from the toun, and call'd out ſuch as knew the toun beſt, and gave the command of them to Thomas Hepburn, in all tuelve men, who, after poſting tuo ſentries on the heads of the harbour, to hinder all boats from goeing out, I order'd to ſecure the ſkipper, if at home, being that toun's man, and rid ſloulie after, till that was over, with no noiſe; which I found done, on my comeing into toun. I found, likewiſe, my ſervant there, with a lad come from thoſe boats formerlie mentioned, which I did not expect, my Lord Mar haveing ordered them, without my knouledge, nor ſpoke one

word of them in the orders given me; houever, they were lying without the harbour. We ſeized ſeverall ſmall boats the minute we came into toun; and, after placeing a few ſentries about the toun, which, by the by, was no eaſie taſk, ſince nobody cared to ſtand, we forced ſome toun's men to goe alonge with ours to bringe in the ſhip, which was ſeized with no difficultie; but the wind being contrarie, it was hard enough to get the ſhip brought into the harbour. I, in the mean time, went out to the point of the quay, with the younge man who came from the boats, to order theſe boats to goe and help to pull in the ſhip. He went before me, in the dark, and both of us perceived ane armed boat ſeize them tuo boats; he ſaid it was the man-of-war's longe boat, and ſo did I believe. On that I run back to get our people to be ſilent, and let them land, at ſame time run about to get all together; but both was impoſſible, for the few who ſtood on the ſhore made more noiſe than a thouſand men, and the others were ſeparated in the toun, buſſie drinking, contrarie to my expreſs orders at firſt comeing in. By this time Major Balfour had takne the alarme on the adverticement I had given, and haveing got a few together, was goeing ſtraight doun the quay, when I intreated him to leave the management of that part to me, and beg'd of him to get out the others, and went doun with eight or nine armed, only with piſtolls, for that was all the armes we had, and reſolved to lye ſnug to obſerve their motion, or, if any landed, ſieze them, which I did not expect they would doe, becauſe the noiſe of our folks thro' the toun continued. While I was goeing nearer with my ſmall peloton, I met Thomas Hepburn, and found he had come aſhore to get help to bringe in the ſhip, and that it was he, and thoſe with him, who had ſeized theſe boats, and that he had ſtay'd there ſome time to oblidge them, being large and well manned, to tow in the ſhip, which was the way I deſſigned to employ them.

It's to be thought, that my ſentrie not giveing the alarme, I was not to ſuſpect that to be ane enemie's boat; but not knouing who he was, or if he had been pleaſed to ſtay on his poſt, I had no truſt to give, ſeeing the whole ſo irregular. Nor was there ſentries to be got to poſt about the toun, or, if any poſted, would others relieve them, nor would anie hold the few horſes of thoſe who had gone to ſieze the ſhip, who

went a ſtrouling thro' the toun, and looſed their bridles. It's not to be conceaved how thoſe people's tongues, and other unrulieneſs, in goeing into alehouſes, confounds at all times, but more at night, the unluckie officer who has the command of them, for ther's no want of adviſers, ſometimes tuentie ſpeaking at once, and all equallie to the purpoſe, but not one to obey; at ſame time, I had the toun's men to ſtruggle with about getting them to go aboard, and others to goe home, to avoide confuſion; but that was incouraged by our own diſorder. At laſt, thoſe boats brought in the ſhip by maine force, againſt the contrarie wind; and thoſe aboard of ours, being ſeamen, did their dutie very well. I ſtood in the water to the middle of the leg, and, with my oun hands, receaved all the armes from the ſhip's ſide, and found, to my great grief, but three hundred, wanting one; we found a bag of flints and tuo little barrels of ball, and tuo or three barrels of pouder, about a hundred pound each, and ſome cartridge boxes. But of the fiftie baggage horſes, for we had no more, none would load, or, if they did, not above four firelocks; after humblie beggeing the favour of them fellous to put on more, to no purpoſe, I gave them round, without diſtinction, a heartie drubbing, the moſt perſuaſive and convinceing argument to thoſe ſorte of men, and, with my oun hands, tyed on the greateſt part of them. We ſeized the armes of a big ſhip which lay in the harbour, which were about tuentie-five firelocks, and with them a barrell of pouder; and, at ſametime, the armes of the Toun Guarde, about thirtie. A little before that I receaved ane account, that Inderie, with five hundred Highlandmen, was come to Achtertoole, a place four miles from Bruntiſland. I ſent orders to him to continue there, and keep his command together. I got on horſeback betwixt three and four, and never thought myſelf happier than when I got out of that toun, being faint and ſick with that confuſion, and running up and doun working.

We had not marched far when ſome of the command went off, without leave, to pay their reſpects to ſome miniſter who they had a mind to teaze; and, as thoſe irregular folks generallie contrive it, they returned, before break of day, with noiſe. Tho' I had ane avantguarde, hearing a noiſe on my left, in the dark, I halted and formed; ſo great is the averſion of thoſe people to regularitie, that was not done without their raiſoning ſtrangelie about

it; but thoſe who have ſerved know, that from time to time, on a marche, ther's nothing more neceſſarie to bringe a command together. Then I marched on to Auchtertoole, where the Highlandmen had orders to halt. I went into the village myſelf, without halting the horſe, and found onlie about fortie men, and was ſome time before I could find ane officer, for all the others were ſpread up and doun the countrie, plundering. I ordered thoſe to marche who I ſaw there, but they were ſo far from obeying, that they pretended they did not underſtand me, and moſt cockt their pieces, and preſented, to ſhoot me, and ſome lay doun on their bellies to take the better aime. If I could have ſpoke to them, I would have offer'd myſelf priſonner; had I offered to run away, I was a dead man; but, by forceing myſelf to look pleaſed, and as a friend, I ſtopt their furie, till ane officer came, who underſtood me. I deſired him to order his men to marche, which he did, but in vain. Then I told him, to inform them that I was to command them, and tell them I would not waite of them with the horſe, and that the Duke of Argyle was within three miles of them; and, with that, took off my hat, and bid them adieu, and gallopt off after the horſe. It's incredible to believe how them fellous run and overtook the horſe, on their being told that, and how ſoon they gathered from plundering on all hands; for, without makeing uſe of that ſtratagem, they had ſtaid and plundered the countrie at their leiſure, on the pretext of being fatigued. By this means I keept them together for ſome time, but afterwards diſbanded again to plunder.

It was needleſs to complain to thoſe who commanded them, who ſaid, it was not in their pouer to help it. So I made a halt at Kinnaſkwood, where I laid hold of the occaſion of Indernitie's comeing from Kinroſs, whence I deſired him to joyn me on the marche; gave out it was the enemie, and put the old ſtratagem in execution, both to ſee how the gentlemen would form, as well as the Highlandmen, and to bring them together from plundering the countrie; for they had again broke out. The gentlemen formed prettie well, but the Highlandmen would not by any means, and run together in troops of nine or ten, without takeing the leaſt notice of what was deſired, except a very few; but it had the laſt effect, which was the getting them aſſembled, and leave pillageing, which they did very

expeditiouſly. After meeting Indernitie, with his five hundred, both his men and the other detachement diſperſed again. I propóſed to him, being one who had a followinq amongſt them, and who abhorred that manner of theirs as much as I, if he'd goe into it, to ſtope, before we came to Pearth, and ſearch the whole, and return what they had takne to the poor people of the countrie, who followed us, with lamentable complaints; but, on his aſſureing me they would not be treated ſo, and, conſidering their number, they would deſtroy himſelf and me, and the fourſcore horſe, rather than ſuffer that, I was forced to be pleaſed, and let them doe as they would.

We got back to Pearth before five of the clock, and marched nere to fourtie Scots miles in tuentie-four hours; I can ſay, for my part, without either eating or drinking, or ſitting doun, or ſo much as haveing my head in a houſe. All theſe particulars I have mentioned, tho' about a thing of no conſequence, to ſheu the trouble one has with ſuch tools, and how great a miſſortune it is to be concerned with them; and how much their own wilfull confuſion puts it out of their pouer either to be helpfull to themſelves or their cauſe.

We found my Lord Mar a horſeback, on the South Inch, when we went to make our report to him. Major Balfour, as he had reaſon, complained freelie, and in ſharp terms, of the Highlandmen's plundering the countrie, and named particularlie Inderei's men,[1] which I obſerved his Lordſhip extreamlie chockt at; and, ſoon after was told, that he had need to take care of himſelf, for the Highlandmen would be upon him, which would [have] happned, if it had not been takne away. So that I obſerved, it was not enough to have the countrie we were of plundered by thoſe who pretended to be our friends, and we diſcredited by it, but we were not to ſheu our diſlike of it, for fear of worſe; and it ſeemed a greater crime to the generall forces to repreſent it, than to the Highlandmen to commit it; for Mar blamed, openlie, Major Balfour's freedom. What I ſaid was, That detachements of different Clans was not to be ſo eaſilie managed as a whole Clan, with their Chief at their head; and, if his Lordſhip deſigned doeing

[1] John Farquharson of Inverey, held his estate in Braemar off the Earl of Mar, so that the misconduct of his men was a reflection on that nobleman, who was his superior.

good with Highlandmen, that was the onlie way, which was a rule he folloued ever after.

That very night, Mackintoſh, with his men, came to Pearth, and Indercale,[1] with tuo hundred Fercharſons alonge with him. This was the gentleman to whoſe houſe my Lord Mar had refuged in the beginning, and keept him for a conſiderable time, till, by brigueing in the nighbourhood, he made his own houſe too hot for him; and, not being willing to engage at that time, imagineing things not ripe enough for him to riſque, left his houſe to his Lordſhip, without any ſtruggle, when it was in his pouer to [have] done him prejudice, for what I know, takne him by the neck, and chooſe to retire to Aberdeen, till, as he thought, he ſaw a probabilitie of ſucceſs, by the great numbers of thoſe engaged; and, being as well inclined as any, came to us of himſelf. My Lord Mar was ſo far from holding him account of the civilities done him, and of his late moderation to his Lordſhip, or his zeale to the cauſe, as well then as when his Lordſhip was ane enemie to it, that he thought he had got a favourable opportunie of being revenged of him, and would doe, by being Generall, what he was not capable of doeing as his landlord for a ſmall part of the gentleman's eſtate. He ordered Indercale, with his tuo hundred men, to joyn Inderei, with that hundred which my Lord and he had brought at firſt from Brae Mar; and told him, deſpoticklie, that he muſt ſubmit to Inderei, and be under his command. The gentleman was not willing to give over his men to anie bodie, but yet leſs to ſubmit himſelf to one of his own name, who was ſo much his inferiour, That, as he ſaid, he never pretended to put on his bonnet in his preſence till he deſired him; could not think of giveing over his birthright, which his familie had ever ſince that was a Clan. With the ſame moderation as formerlie, not to create diſturbance, offered to let his men joyn Inderei, but would not ſubject himſelf, and deſſigned to ſerve in my Lord Mariſhall's ſquadron, where his friends had preſented him with the command of a troop. But, on Mar's being poſitive he ſhould have no command, if he did not ſerve under Inderei, the gentleman, ſeeing how far his Lordſhip's malice carried him, pluckt up a ſpirit, and told, That while he, or one of that tuo hundred men were alive, no man ſhould command them but

[1] Invercauld.

himſelf and bid his Lordſhip of Mar doe his worſt. Upon which Mar deſiſted, not finding it proper to purſue that further; and Indercale and his men continued with the Mackintoſhes. Inderei remained Collonell to the hundred Mar-men, who formed a regiment, it being the faſhion, houever ſmall the followings were, for every great Lord to have, at leaſt, one battallion of his own ſubjects.

It was now thought the proper time to put the deſſigned project of paſſing the Frith in execution. Generall Hamiltone haveing told my Lord Mar of his communicateing that ſecret to me, his Lordſhip was pleaſed to ſend for me, and aſkt, before Generall Hamilton and Mr Malcome, who were the onlie preſent, What number of boats I thought could be got together on the coaſt, and in what places? I ſaid, Mr Malcome, who lived in the midſt of thoſe touns, could tell better than I what number there were; all I could tell him was, That what boats were of uſe were to be found from Wemyſs to Creile, in the touns and villages all alonge that coaſt; that there was a great many of them, but could not tell their number. Malcome ſaid, Nor could he. His Lordſhip aſkt me, Who were the proper perſons to applie to for information, &c., in caſe of the projects goeing on? Who could be helpfull in getting the boats together? I ſaid, Hary Craufurd, Alexander Williamſon, haveing had longe commerce with thoſe people, and men of project, were of all men the fitteſt, provided they would take it in hand; but I thought myſelf oblidged to tell his Lordſhip, that Hary Craufurd had ſo looſe a tongue that there was ſome danger in truſting him, not that he did not wiſh us well, but that he never could keep his own ſecret; and yet I did not ſee how we could doe without him. I told him, Generall Hamilton's ſon-in-law, Mr Bethune, muſt be helpful in his town of Kilrinnie; and named him tuo other gentlemen of diſcretion, who would be of great uſe further up the coaſt, if they would medle in it, not being engaged with us; but bid him enquire of others, for his greater ſatiſfaction, and not take people's caracters entirelie on my word, for I might be miſtakne. He ſaid, He'd enquire no further, for Malcome had told him the ſame, to a title. Then he begun to ſpeak of haveing all thoſe boats ſent up to Bruntiſland, where, on my haveing formerlie told him the caſtle was ſtronge, he had put a guarriſone to keep our communication with the countie and coaſt of Fife.

I told his Lordſhip, He was to conſider that bringing all thoſe boats together to Bruntiſland was a double mouvement, and that the men-of-war, who were in ſtation all over the Frith, would ſee them, and bear up to them, as they did to the leaſt ſmall boat alone; beſides, I had ſeen ane order given to the Cuſtome-Houſe officers, who were all alonge the coaſt, to inform them men-of-war, of every thing done on land, and, if they did not, the Gouvernment had friends enough to doe it: And moſt of theſe boats were laid up on drie land in winter, and it would take ſome time to get them to ſea, with the difficulties that theſe fellows would make, who are, of all people, the moſt daſtardlie crew; and, for what I knew, the boats wanted calking before they could be uſed, their ſeams being open with lying drie. After that, to bring them to Bruntiſland, would be worſe to execute than the project itſelf; and, ſuppoſe they eſcaped the men of-war in goeing there, alonge the coaſt; which was to be feared they could not, being further, for moſt of the boats, than the croſſing of the Frith; it was impoſſible, that from Leith Road, where there was always at leaſt one man-of war within little more than a half hour's ſaileing from Bruntiſland, they ſhould not be diſcover'd, and ſoon blockt up in that harbour, by one ſhip caſting anchor before it, and put ane end to that project; and, tho' one ſhip was enough, ſignalls at ſea are heard and underſtood at great diſtances, and could bringe thither the others. Next, I ſuppoſed, tho' there were no men-of-war in the caſe, their very goeing off from Bruntiſland would have a bad effect, for, after haveing alarm'd the Duke of Argyle with the firſt mouvement of bringing the boats there, it would give him time to take his precautions; and beſides, the being alreadie on his guard, would be tuice as ſoon informed of the certaintie of their goeing off from Bruntiſland, as from duble the diſtance, where moſt of the boats were actuallie then, and, at leaſt, looſe the advantages which a ſurprize on the Duke of Argyle might give, without which, at the bottom, the thing itſelf was impracticable, becauſe of the men-of-war; and if at all to be done, was to be done at one jerk.

I had not better fortune, in this converſation, than I had on other occaſions, for he ſnarled oftne at me, after his ordinarie manner, when one does not approve of every thing he deſſignes. Tho' (I was then perſuaded, as I am ſtill) that I was in the right, and had often thought

of it, from the time that Generall Hamilton had ſpoke to me, and was not yet ſure that I was not to goe myſelf to command, becauſe of his Lordſhip talkeing to me of it, never haveing heard more of it from that time of Hamilton's ſpeaking to this; and, becauſe I did not aſk it, they gave out that I was not willing to goe; no great charge, tho' it had been true. I took freedom to aſk his Lordſhip, Where he deſigned they ſhould land on the other ſide, in caſe he propoſed ſome advantage by their goeing off from Bruntiſland, which was not to be got from another porte? He ſaid, They were to land on the Lothien coaſt, at any place to which they found the wind faireſt, and then, either marche to Haddintoun or the Cittadell of Leith. I ſaid, They might doe the ſame from the place where the boats lay then; but what he ſaid of Haddintoun and the Citadell of Leith, put me in mind of what Generall Hamilton and I had ſpoke of ſlightlie, at his firſt comeing to Pearth; and that they had contented themſelves with the firſt names of places that came in head by accident, without enquireing further, or determineing any thing, except the ſending over ſo many men, I may ſay, without a fixt view or deſigne, as appears by his Lordſhip's intercepted letters to Viſcount Kenmure and Mr Forreſter. I, in the end, told his Lordſhip, That I was no failer, but I doubted of the whole project; and, upon Malcome's being poſitive, I ſaid, That I believed his argueing for it, or mine againſt it, deſerved no attention. That my Lord had nothing to doe but to inform himſelf, by one who underſtood the ſea, what would happne, in caſe the men-of-war diſcover'd them, which was the ſtate of the queſtion. Mar ſaid, I was to goe, in a day or tuo, on command to Fife, and ſhould ſtate it to Harrie Craufurd, as I pleaſed.

In that time he made Mackintoſh, with his Clan, and the Fercharſon's, my Lord Nairne, and Lord Charles Murray, with the Athole men, Earle of Strathmore, with his regiment of Low Countriemen, and Logie Drummond with my Lord Drummond's men, and his own, defileé by Kinroſs, corp after corp, to Bruntiſland, to the number of tuo thouſand tuo hundred. When he had thus diſpoſed things, he called me, and gave me the followuing orders under his hand and ſeale; which I inſert here, that the reader may better judge how I obeyed them:—

Instructions for the Master of Sinclair and Collonell Harrie Balfour.

That you marche, with the detachement under your command, to Couper in Fife, from thence to St Andrews, Craile, Killrinnie, Anſtruther Eaſter, Anſtruther Weſter, Pittenweem, Ely, Leven, Wemyſs, and Dyſert; whereupon you are to proclaime the King in all the touns aforeſaid, and to intimate to the Officers for the Cuſtome and Exciſe, to be leveyed by them in their reſpective bounds, to aſk immediate payment of both, conforme to orders; and, upon refuſall, to bringe one or tuo of the Magiſtrates alonge with you as hoſtages for the monie, and ſeize all the publick monie and bonds belongeing to the revenew, in all the above-mentioned places; and when you come to the Wemyſs, if there be no other orders for you, then you are to continue your marche ſtraight to Pearth; you are alſo to ſeize all the armes and ammunition at the Wemyſs, Balgonie, Melvill, and everywhere elſe you can have anie intelligence of them, and all the horſes of diſaffected perſons; for doeing whereof this ſhall be your warrand. Given at the camp of Pearth, this fifth of October,

Mar.

P.S.—You are to ſend me ane expreſs from Creile, with ane account of the boats I ſpoke to you of.

After reading my orders, I told my Lord Mar, That for the firſt tuo days' marche into Fife, according to the route he had given me, there could be no great danger from the Duke of Argyle; but that, in my coming back towards him alonge the coaſt, it depended on him (haveing even then above ſix hundred dragoons, all his ſtrength at that time conſiſting, in a great meaſure in his dragoons) to attack me; nor did I ſee, if he ſent out his dragoons that my Lord Mar had any force to oppoſe them, for Huntlie and Mariſhall's horſe, and a good many more, in one word, not the half of what we had afterwards, had then joynd us. He anſwered, He had force enough to oppoſe them, when he had Highlandmen; and aſkt me, If Mackintoſh was not cover enough at Bruntiſland betwixt me and Stirveling? I told him, that there was eighteen or tuentie longe miles

betuixt Pearth and Bruntiſland, and, if the Duke of Argyle had a mind, there was nothing to hinder him, in all that wide tract of an open countrie, to make his dragoons paſs to me; and that countie being almoſt a peninſule, by tuo great navigable rivers on the ſouth and north, or rather tuo armes of the ſea, which come from the German Ocean on the eaſt of the countie, into which thoſe rivers diſcharge themſelves, I'd be takne in a hoſe net, ſince there was no other way of getting back to him but by the Bridge of Ierne. He aſkt me, If that ſhould happne, how the dragoons could return, ſince he'd cut them off from Stirveling? I anſuered, he might, provided he had a ſuperioritie of horſe; but tho' the dragoons were within a muſket ſhot of his foot, they'd make a wheele and paſs at any place of that countrie without his foot's being able to come nere them. All this while he was in a paſſion to ſee any pretend to reaſone with him, and told me he'd ſend five hundred men to Kinroſs, or order ſome of thoſe who were there in their way to Bruntiſland to halt at Kinroſs, being half-way betuixt that and Pearth. I told him that would make it no worſe; but what I'd truſt moſt to ſhould be the intelligence from thoſe poſts, provided my Lord would detache fifteen horſe, or ſome ſuch number, the one half to Kinroſs and the other to Bruntiſland, to be ſent out from thoſe places on the roads towards Stirveling, to bringe in intelligence; which he ſaid he would; and particularlie deſired him to give orders to take care of the Dumferling road, as one of the ſtreighteſt and privateſt ways they could come. Generall Hamiltone, who ſtood by all the time without ſpeakeing one word, ſaid, He wiſht my Lord would order fourtie horſe more to the fourſcore, and then he thought I might be prettie ſecure; on which my Lord made faces to him, and appeared angrie, ſo he was ſtruck dumb, and I took leave. It needs be no ſurprize to any to ſee I reaſon'd ſo much with ſuch a Generall, who I had obſerved from the beginning capable of doeing everie thing ſo looſlie; and tho' his foundation had been more ſolid, had no reaſon to think he could know more of that buſineſs than I, ſeeing Hamiltone laid aſide, to whome, as ane officer, I'd have yielded ſooner tho' I had imagin'd him to be in the wronge, becauſe whatever ſuperioritie of judgement ſome men have over other's, it's almoſt a generale rule that everie man ſpeaks or acts leſs or more reaſonablie in his own buſineſs, and when the wiſeſt goe out of it they act and ſpeak like

fools, for want of the principles; and their ſelf ſufficiencie and forwardneſs on thoſe occaſions, tho' it may ſerve to give a mob confidence in them, it has the contrarie effect on thoſe of common ſenſe, by makeing them more and more diffident. Beſides, had any thing happned wronge, which, conſidering all, and the irregularitie of our people, was too much to be fear'd in caſe of action, if I had been knockt on the head in that command I knew him capable of throuing all upon me, for it was for the King's intereſt that everie bodie ſhould ſuffer blame ſooner than he; and the gentlemen would find their account in it, becauſe they'd be ſatiffied the blame did not fall on them. I obſerved, likwiſe, by theſe Inſtructions, as he called them, the continuance of his wonted favour, by his ſtill ſending my gouvernour alonge with me, as if I had not been capable of commanding fourſcore men in ane armie ſuch as that, where I may ſay there was not above five or ſix that deſerved the name of officers in any ſtation, when I had oftne commanded tuo hundred, and ſometimes three, in the beſt diſciplined armie that ever was in Europe. On the other hand, I was pleaſed to have ſo good a friend alonge with me, who I could truſt more to than to all the others, and ſaid nothing.

Before I left, his Lordſhip, after reading my orders, and ſeeing that article of the publick monie, I told him that I was certainlie informed where Charles Kraigengelt, the collector to the Exciſe, was to be tuo nights after that, in goeing his rounds to receave his monie, and that he'd have five hundred pounds with him, which I made no doubt of ſecureing. His Lordſhip forbid me to meddle with him. I knew his reaſon was, that he was heir to his Lordſhip's famous ſteuart, Charles Kierie, who had aſſiſted him to cheat his creditours, and by whoſe name his Lordſhip's eſtate remains ſtill covered; whoſe right, haveing devolved on Mr Kraigengelt, ſerves his Lordſhip for the ſame purpoſe; ſo that reaſon for engageing every other man in Scotland, however uſeleſs he was, or bringing them under the ſuſpicion of the Gouvernment to make them deſperate, failed in the caſe of Mr Kraigengelt, even tho' he had a ſum of money with him. It was eaſie to judge there was no monie to be got of the Cuſtome-Houſe officers, for all trade had been ſtopt. Nor was I to goe the length of the Cuſtome-Houſe, and if I had, it would have been to no purpoſe, they muſt have hid all on the Highlandmens being ſo near them, which had put all that countrie in a

fright. Nor could the marcheing with fourſcore horſe, who muſt give too great alarme, and proclaimeing, ſucceed in the ſearche of armes in any toun but the firſt, for the others would ſoon put theirs underground, and their Magiſtrats would hide themſelves; as to horſes it was the ſame, for theſe things can onlie be done by ſurprize and by ſmall parties, after haveing information. So it was evident to me that all that part of his Lordſhip's orders was but a ſham, nor could I perſuade myſelf he'd ſend fourſcore horſe along with me for what I had to ſay to Harrie Craufurd about the boats, ſo it was eaſie to judge his whole deſigne was proclaimeing; and tho' it could not bringe him in one man more than had joyn'd, yet it was reaſonable at Couper, being the head toun of the countie, where all the courts were held; but what reaſon he had to proclaime in ſo many little touns and villages I could not underſtand, except it was to make me as black as poſſible to the Gouverment, by proclaimeing in as many places as all the others together, and by that render me deſperate; the only way he could fall on to cure my diffidence of his damnable deſſignes, and make me ſtick at nothing, judgeing of others deſpair by his own, as if that could been a ſufficient reaſon for me to be heartie in ſacrifiſing my countrie.

I was the more confirmed in this, when I heard he had ordered as many as could be perſuaded to goe of the Fife countie, for that was then the way of giveing out orders, thinking to ſecure all by their being dipt alonge with me; and was intirelie convinced, in the end of our affair, when his Lordſhip's favourites brag'd of it, that he had play'd me that trick, and made uſe of it as ane argument for my goeing into their meaſures. It's eaſie to believe that, haveing all thoſe conſiderations, I was not fond of that command; but I ſaw he'd make a crime of my refuſall, and, haveing no ſmall regarde to the gentlemen who were commanded, I obey'd, in hopes I might be of uſe to them; ſince, I can ſay, without vanitie, that there was no bodie who had the leaſt notion of ſervice who could take that freedom with them which I could, or had that authoritie over them. So I begun with telling them of the diſorder of my laſt command, and hoped they would not fall into that fault, and ſuore if they did, they'd oblidge me to tell them my mind with greater freedom than I knew was proper to doe to gentlemen; but when they conſidered that it was I and not they who was to be anſuer-

able for all, I hoped they would not miſconſtruct my care, nor pretend to reaſon with me ſo longe as I commanded; that after I came back to Pearth, they might call me to ane account if I injur'd anie bodie, and beg'd of them not to think they were commanded for their diverſion.

I marched ſtraight to Couper, where that night I proclaim'd the King, haveing ſent a ſmall partie before me to ſeize the horſes of ſome diſaffected people before my comeing ſhould alarme them; but what was found was not worth the takeing. After proclaimeing, I order'd that no man ſhould light till I gave orders, and went myſelf to look to the ſtables to get the horſes put all together, or as nere to one another as poſſible, and not ſpread in the toun. But before I came back a great manie were alreadie gone, and others goeing to diſband, ſo all the favour I aſkt of them was to come and keep guarde in the toun-houſe; and to oblidge them to it, order'd all the taverns to make readie what meat they could, and bringe it there; but the gentlemen were pleaſed to intercept all, ſo I was in the toun-houſe with a very few, and was forc'd to ſtand ſentrie myſelf at the door, to keep the form of a guard in a toun not at all well affected to us. Some of thoſe gentlemen whoſe houſes were nere, went home, and took a friend alonge with them; for, even when it was not their turn to goe on command, or they were not deſired, as at that time, through the whole courſe of our affair, they made it always their buſſineſs to goe on theſe commands, near their homes, and by that means were of no uſe to the ſervice; yea, ſome went that night home to St Andrews, ſix miles from that, contrarie to expreſs orders, and alarmed all there: ſo they expected us, and hid their armes; others got their wives into toun. Some times the gentlemen came into the toun-houſe in a croude, and after they had all ſpoke at once, to give information of armes, went out; ſome went and put their own propoſals in execution; others went out to doe ſo, but forgot to come back; and, in a word, we got nothing but ſome old ruſtie muſkets, moſt without locks. At laſt, except a very few, all went to bed, in ſpite of what I could doe; and on thoſe occaſions, thoſe who ſtay have ſo much fatigues put upon them by doeing the other's dutie, that they are forced to decamp at laſt. I muſt ſay a man muſt know nothing of the ſervice to bear ſuch diſorder; and I muſt own I curſt them till I was ſick, and told them that nothing would make them wiſe till they got a

ruffle, and pray'd God it might be a little one; and in that caſe they'd be the better for it, for I ſaw nothing elſe would doe, and at the ſame time aſſur'd them they'd meet with it.

I know ſome wiſe men will ſay that we were ten miles further from the enemie then when we were at Pearth. It's true we were; and it was impoſſible that we could have been attackt that night from Stirveling, but it was known there was hidden armes in that toun and countrie; and houever couardlie thoſe people are, it's eaſie to cut the throats of thoſe who are aſleep, or ſteall their horſes, which, as things ſtood then, were of no leſs value than their maſters, ſince we wanted horſes more than men. And was it any great fatigue for them to watch a part of the night and ſleep the reſt in the toun-houſe, and doe the buſineſs regularlie they came about? and are people never to learn dutie, and pretend to deall with ſoldiers, and run counter to every thing they doe, that experience and a longe well-conducted war had taught 'em? and when ſojers are ſo much on their guarde, who have nothing to looſe but a miſerable life, what muſt gentlemen, who have their countrie, their eſtates, and all at ſtake, not to ſpeak of their honour, which by their way of talking would ſeem to goe a great length with them? And does not that happne ſometimes in a moment which has not happned in a hundred years? And is it not certain that the intelligence of their diſorder from that toun, who would not faile to give it juſt to the enemie, muſt encourage them to attack us ſome night before we got back to Pearth, or, at leaſt, take the firſt opportunitie to doe ſo at any other time? And how offten had they been foretold ſo by officers who ſuſpected they would ſome time play the fool; to whom their threats, for that very reaſon, appear'd ridiculous, and ought they not rather to have given them the lye by a contrarie behaviour, and a ſtrict obſervance of their dutie? I can tell all thoſe who pretend to deal in that trade, by the little experience I have of it, that countenance is none of the leaſt part of it, for with a good appearance ther's often a great deal done; and that ther's another maxim which has been found of great uſe, that diffidence is the mother of ſecuritie. This way of talking, one would think, might have convinced rationall creatures, but could have no effect on countrie gentlemen, and the rather, for that my Lord Mar's plan was to make all eaſie to the

gentlemen, and to humor them in everie thing they had a mind to, for fear of diſcourageing; and he had always his creatures ſent amongſt them to give a wrong turn behind one's back to everie thing of that kind that was ſaid, eſpeciallie by me; and to inſinuate it was the effects of fear that made any bodie ſpeak ſo, which, tho' they could not perſuade the gentlemen of, yet biaſ'd them to follow their own inclination, which all men fall naturally into. But, in ſpite of this, I was reſolved they ſhould doe their dutie, or have as little reſt as if they had; and for that reaſon ſounded the trumpet before four of the clock in the morning, and with a deſſigne to ſurprize thoſe of St Andrews before they ſhould take the alarme and hide their armes, not knowing that ſeveral of ours had alreadie done it by goeing home the night before. After comeing to Couper I had given out that I was to goe back to Pearth by Dundee; and, croſſing the Tay, intirelie a different route from what I deſſigned to take, as well to make thoſe of the toun ſend falſe intelligence to the Duke of Argyle, who, in caſe he had a mind to attack us, would look no more after us, as to take thoſe of the countrie napping, before they had put their horſes and armes or pouder out of the way; and to make that take the better, I ridd half a mile towards Dundee, and, falling in after into the St Andrews road, got there by break of day, and took ſome few horſes on the road, or near to it.

So ſoon as we got there we proclaimed, and at the ſame time ſearched all the ſuſpected houſes for armes and horſes. We ſucceeded as ill there as at Couper, and got onlie a few broken ruſtie muſkets. And, tho' I had order'd expreſſly that nobodie ſhould diſmount, except thoſe order'd for the ſearche of armes, before I knew where I was, a great many were ſtareing at me out of the windows: Had I deſir'd anything of them, which I did not doe myſelf, I ſhould not have been uneaſie; and then its eaſie to judge what difficulties one has to get ſuch people out of a toun, ſince ther's ſeldom on theſe occaſſions any want of liquor, though I will ſay, that, generallie ſpeaking, they kept ſober enough. Houever, haveing ſeverall touns to proclaim in, I thought it was a little too earlie to refreſh there, for the King's health muſt be drunk in everie one of them, otherwiſe the ceremonie was null and voide.

We marched from that to Creile; and haveing a verball order to ſend a ſtronge box of my Lord Mar's, then in the hands of Ladie Lyon, with tuo of my detachement, ſtraight over by the ferrie of Dundee; thinking it of greater value than it was afterwards believed to be, I ſent ſix men with it for ſecuritie. This box I was formerly to goe and eſcorte when I was commanded for Bruntiſland, and had it inſerted in my written orders to doe it, after doeing my buſineſs there; but on repreſenting it to his Lordſhip, that it would be hard to put ſo great a detachement to the trouble of goeing tuentie miles out of their road, and neglecting the armes, if we happned to take them, and ruining our horſes with ſo great fatigue, when it could be done with ten horſe at any time, he was pleaſ'd to excuſe me. By this it can be ſeen what notion the Generall had of ſervice.

We came to Creile before tuelve, and proclaimed the King that moment; the few ruſtie armes of that poor honeſt toun were delivered with no pain; and gave orders to light, and refreſh and feed our horſes, but that none ſhould be put up in ſtables. Thus far, I think, I obeyed his Lordſhip of Mar's orders literallie. On the writeing of his order, he imagined I ſhould ſtay that night in Creile; and, on that ſuppoſition, deſired me, in a poſtcript to his written order, to ſend him ane expreſs from Creile about the boats, tho' he left it in my pouer to ſtay that night where I pleaſed, both by his written orders and on my receaveing them, at my comeing off, when I told him I would ſhun quartering in touns, it being impoſſible otherwiſe to keep the gentlemen together. And tho' he had not left it to myſelf, I ſhould have truſted more to my own judgement in that affair than to his, and was ſtill more determined, after what I ſaw at Couper, never to be another night in a toun, and had rather choſen to ly anywhere, tuo or three miles from a toun, in the open fields, where fourage was to be got, than bear the ſeeing of their diſorder, or allouing it; which I then told them. For that reaſon, I found the Abbey of Pittenweem, which happned to be one of the places my order led me to, was the fitteſt place to take a night's quarter in; and if anie orders ſhould be ſent me by my Lord Mar, I knew well they muſt find me, ſince ſuch a detachement in that countrie muſt always be heard of, eſpeciallie haveing a

ſtreight route through ſo many touns. Before I marched from Creile I aſkt Hary Craufurd if he could get as many boats as could tranſport tuo thouſand men over the Frith; and how ſoon they could be got; and how he thought that project would ſucceed, in caſe the men-of-war ſhould get the leaſt hint, or fall in with them? He ſaid, The project would doe, and he did not doubt but as many boats could be got, but that it would take at leaſt three days to get all readie. He deſired more time to think of it, and ſaid he'd come that night to Pittenweem, where we were to be, and ſpeak further about it; and not being then willing to be ſeen dealeing with us without ane appearance of force, deſired I ſhould threatne publicklie on the ſtreet to carrie him off priſoner with me, and let him goe on his word of honour that he ſhould be that night at Pittenweem; which I did.

I marched from that to Kilrinnie, Anſtruther Eaſter, Anſtruther Weſter, and Pittenweem; and, after proclaimeing in all thoſe royall burroughs, and makeing ſearch for armes and amunition, according to my intelligence in all thoſe places, I got nothing worth the nameing, except ſome bars of lead, which, being weightie, I left the one half in ſafe hands to be ſent for, and took the other half alonge with me. That night I took up my quarters in the Abbay of Pittenweem, which, being nere the toun, afforded us all we wanted. Thoſe under my command had no mind to goe to the Abbay, ſaying that it was ane old ruinous place, and had no cover for horſes; and wanted, above all things, to quarter in the toun. I told them, I had made ane oath never to quarter in a toun with them, and that I'd rather ly with my briddle in my hand in the fields, than ly in a bed on ſuch occaſions; that tho' there was no cover for horſes, the high walls of the Abbaye-court was ſhelter enough; and that for themſelves, there was cover enough in Doctor Bruce's houſe, which made up one ſide of the court, and they might ſend for what they wanted to the toun. With difficultie I got them to obey; and after tyeing their horſes alonge the walls the beſt way they could, I order'd no bodie to goe out of the Abbay without allouance, haveing firſt of all planted ſentries at all the gates to hinder them. I drew up the gentlemen and ſervants, divided them in three plotons, put officers over each ploton, and chauked numbers on their breaſts, as they doe ſojers on a guarde, that I might know who refuſed to doe their dutie; order'd thoſe

ſentries I had poſted in all the avenues of the cloyſter to be alternatelie relieved by each ploton, and ſheu'd them their alarme poſts in caſe of a ſurprize.

While I was doeing this, the wife and active Sir Heugh Paterſon could ſtand it no longer. It ſeems, finding this method contrarie to Mar's plan—to whom he is brother-in-law, and for that reaſon muſt ſhew himſelf a politician, and always buſie doeing nothing—told me that all that care I was takeing did harm, and frightned the gentlemen. I knew very well that this did not come from him, but was the maxime reigned then at Court; and, lookeing on him onlie as a repeater, caught at him, and bid him medle with his own affairs, or with what he underſtood, which would have been hard upon him, and given him little to doe. By this time ſome of the gentlemen deſired to allou them to water their horſes out of the cloyſter, which I did for a tryell. They went to toun, ſtabled their horſes, ſtript, and went to bed. After that none were permitted to goe out on anie pretext. Some aſkt leave to goe ſee fathers, mothers, brothers, and friends, which, had we quarter'd in toun, had been done without leave, and carried others with them; all whom I refuſed. This I mention, becauſe I remember the people's names who did ſo. There happned to be ſome ſtables, and thoſe I alloued any bodie to make uſe of who pleaſed, ſince I was reſolved to put no hardſhip on the leaſt of them which I did not ſuffer myſelf.

I expected Hary Craufurd from Creile till it was late; at laſt got a letter of excuſe from him, telling me he could not come, but that he would doe his beſt to manage that affair I had intruſted to him, and bring it to bear as ſoon as poſſible. I wanted one to ſend to my Lord Mar with a letter, as he had order'd me, that night; but it being eleven of the clock, and everie bodie ſo fatigued, none would undertake it; and, in a caſe of that nature, there was no truſting one who we could hire, and finding that affair was not ſo nere being put in execution as my Lord Mar imagin'd, I thought it no great matter to delay it till next morning earlie, which I would not have done neither, had any conſented to goe. I went from time to time my little rounds, and viſited the ſentries. At laſt, being overcome with noiſe, diſorder, chagrine, and tuo days and tuo nights fatigue and want of ſleep, about one of the clock I laid me down to ſleep, and deſired to be awaked in tuo hours. Collonell Balfour,

or rather Major, being better known by that name, haveing done ſo alreadie, as I had encouraged everie on[e] of the command [to] doe before and after dutie, I recommended the care of all to Mr Fleming, who had been an officer. So far, I think, I can anſuer for my conduct, nor did I deviate from my written orders. If my regular precautions brings me under the ſuſpicion of being afraid, I believe all who knew ſervice would have fallne under the ſame ſenſure; and, as I have ſaid before, nothing draws on a miſſortune ſo readilie as the enemie's knowing that thoſe they have to doe with are never on their guarde; nor can I conceave how ane honeſt man, who is engaged in a cauſe, can ſatiſfy himſelf without advertiſeing his friends of their certain ruin, and putting them on methods to avoide it, by teacheing them their dutie, which is not to be learned without both precept and example; and that night, when I had difficultie enough to keep them within the Abby, and they were murmuring, I told them often that I was ſure they would not be longe without meeting with a rufle, which would be the onlie thing could cure them of their follie, and wiſht to God it might be a little one, and in that caſe there would be no harm in it, and, on the contrarie, would doe them good.

I had not ſlept ane hour, when I receaved a letter from my Lord Mar, which I ſhall inſert from his originall. It was addreſſed to the Maſter of Sinclair and Collonell Hary Balfour:—

Sir,—The man-of-war being gone, I deſire, upon ſight hereof, that you'll ſend all the barks and boats that can poſſiblie be had to Bruntiſland, without looſeing a moment of time, the troops of Bruntiſland haveing orders to embarke there; and I have order'd all the troops here to marche to-morrow morning towards Stirveling, which will make your joyning us again the more eaſie.

Mr Ogilvie of Boyn came to me here laſt night with my new commiſſion, and full powers, &c., too longe to repeat in a letter. I expect the King is landed in Brittain by this time. You are to follow your Inſtructions, except I ſend you contrarie orders, which you ſhall hear from me in time.

Sir,

Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

Mar.

From the Camp at Pearth, the 7 of October.

Here I muſt take leave to ſay that his Lordſhip's intelligence about the man-of-war was falſe, for there was one lying within leſs than a mile of the ſhore of Pittenweem, and oppoſite to that cloyſter where I then was, and as if poſted there on deſſigne in the way that the boats were to goe to Bruntiſland, and I am of opinion there was another in the rade of Lieth; but his Lordſhip, haveing heard that whoever has a mind to be a great man muſt overlooke all difficulties, run into the belief of the firſt intelligence that ſuited his deſſigne.

As to the laſt paragraph of his letter, it was all a downright willfull lye, for he never had a commiſſion before that which Boyn brought him then. The King's landing was no leſs; and Boyn oun'd he had not ſeen the King in ſix months before his comeing from France, and that he knew nothing of him, onlie that commiſſion was ſent him to carrie over to Scotland; but that is naturall to his Lordſhip.

Nor can I here enough admire his Lordſhip's opiniatrete and ignorance; for, before I left Pearth, I thought I had put him off his deſſigne of carrying the boats up to Bruntiſland, by laying before him the inconvenience of tuo movements, yea, the impoſſibilitie of ſucceeding if he attempted it that way; and that, beſides the alarmeing the whole men-of-war before he could ſet out the ſecond time, tho' they eſcapt at firſt, which was impoſſible, (at that time one of the men-of-war being directlie in their way,) it was likwiſe, without that inconvenience, worſe to execute than the tranſport itſelf, or croſſing the Frith, ſince they could run over to any place of Lothien where the wind blew faireſt, eaſier than be determined to goe up the Frith to one port, and reallie a longer voyage. It was no leſs to be admir'd that he thought all thoſe boats were to be got ſo ſoon.

After receaveing my Lord Mar's letter, I wrote him an anſwer, giveing an account of everie thing I had done in my march, and letting him know that Mr Craufurd had aſſured me that the tranſport was practicable, and that he'd doe what he could to get them boats ſoon readie, but it was not to be done in leſs than three days; and that his Lordſhip's information about the men-of-war was wrong, for one had obſerved us all the way from Creile, and waited on us alonge the coaſt, and was lying at anchor

within leſs than a mile of us. I diſpatched him who brought me the letter from Mar back to him with this anſuer about three of the clock, and told his Lordſhip further, that I was to continue my route.

By ſeven of the clock I receaved a letter from Mackintoſh of Borlome, from Bruntiſland, who now begun to be call'd Brigadeer Mackintoſh. His letter aſſured me that a great bodie, of both foot and horſe, of the enemie, was alreadie in Dumfermling, and that they were to march towards him as ſoon as the moon riſe, and for that reaſon, moſt earneſtlie deſired I ſhould joyn him with all poſſible diligence. It was no ſmall ſurpiſe to me to find Mackintoſh expect I was to receave orders from him, who knew nothing of him further than that I was to receave intelligence from him, not haveing the leaſt verball or written order to obey or take orders from him; but how he could imagine that I, who he ſuppoſed was at Creile, ſince he directed his letter for me to that place, and tuentie miles from him, could come to his relief before the enemie could march four miles from Dumfermling to Bruntiſland, is above my comprehenſion, eſpeciallie, ſince they were to begin their march about the moon riſeing, which was one of the clock, the very time he ſent off his expreſs to me, who I did not ſee till ſeven. My being at Pittenweem, tuo miles nearer him than Creile, did not much alter the circumſtance, for it was ſimply impoſſible that anie man of common ſenſe could think that when the enemie were to begin their march by the time he ſent his letter to me, that he ſhould not be inveſted before his expreſs could ride eighteen miles, and I march with that detachment eighteen miles to his aſſiſtance, ſince he muſt have been inveſted long before I received his letter. In that caſe, it would have been thought very odd that I, who had not then ſeventy horſe, haveing ſent ſome off with the ſtronge box and old armes, ſhould marche up againſt thoſe who had inveſted or attackt, in a ſtronge caſtle, tuo thouſand foot, which number Mackintoſh had with him; and had I been in the caſtle with him, on the certaintie of the ennemie's advanceing to attack us, I had ſent off, without heſitation, the horſe under my command, whatever way I had diſpoſed of myſelf, for he could not but be very much ſtraitned in ſo little a place with the great number he had, and the gentlemen muſt have been an embarras to him in the ſtate he was

then in, for they muſt have onlie contributed to ſtraiten him more; and, for want of carabines, could have been of no uſe to him in the defence of a place.

I remember all this I told to Major Balfour and ſeverall gentlemen under my command, when I ſheu'd them Mackintoſhes letter at Pittenweem; and further added, that I would lay my life that the horſes the foot had there with them were abandon'd in the toun, which afterwards I found was a true conjecture; and, indeed, five hundred men were to[o] many for that place. It's not improper to tell, that James Malcome's ſervant brought the letter, and I remember he had an Indien targe or ſhield in his hand, which he was carrying back to Logie Drummond; and with him wrote back to Mackintoſh of Borlome, telling him I had no orders to obey him; and tho' I had, if his intelligence was true, it would be impoſſible to joyn him, ſince I believed he muſt be attackt before his letter came to me; nor, were I with him, could thoſe under my command be of any uſe to him.

Haveing thus reaſon'd, I look'd over my written orders, and read the letter I had receav'd from my Lord Mar that morning; and, finding I had no more to doe but to proclaim in Ely, Leven, and Wemyſs, three villages, which I look'd on as a thing of no conſequence, after haveing proclaimed alreadie in ſeven royall burroghs in the ſame countie, for in the latter part of the orders he deſires me to come ſtraight from Wemyſs to Pearth, and excuſes me from goeing to Dyſert,[1] a royall burrough, where my father's intereſt lies, which was farther up the coaſt, and out of my road a little; beſides, he, by a verball order, excuſed me, becauſe, as I pretended, if I went there, I could not reach another quarter that night, which was contrarie to my reſolution of quartering in a toun. Tho' that was one reaſon ſtronge enough to me, yet I had another no leſs, and that was the fear of thoſe poor people of that toun's ſhewing more fondneſs of the thing on my account than I thought was needfull; ſince it could doe no ſervice, and I ſhould have been loath to have been an inſtrument in doeing them harm; which made him give orders to the Highlandmen from Bruntiſland to proclaim there, which they did. But, to be ſhort, all that ſeem'd materiell

[1] Dysart, with its castle and dependencies, was an ancient patrimony of the Sinclairs, and is now the chief seat of the Earl of Rosslyn.

in my orders was to ſeize thirtie firelocks in the Wemyſs Houſe, for I knew there was no more. As to the armes of Balgonie and Melvill Houſes, belonging to the Earle of Leven, Major Balfour, and others of his neareſt nighbours, aſſured me there were none.

All this while, I could not but give ſome faith to Brigadeer Mackintoſh of Borlome's intelligence, ſince he was ſo poſitive that they were ſo near him, and of the time they were to begin their marche; which circumſtance forced my belief, and that from a man who was ſaid to be a ſoldier, and to whom my Lord Mar gave the truſt of ſo great a command, and to whoſe intelligence I was to truſt from my firſt ſetting out. And, indeed, I never doubted of the enemie's being at Dumfermling, but I told ſeverall of the command that Mackintoſh was ſo ſtrongly poſted the Duke of Argyle could doe nothing againſt him without cannon, and all his foot and dragoons, which were at that time ſhort of Mackintoſh's number, and his dragoons being of no uſe to him there, except diſmounted, I could not ſee how he'd either venture that, or the leaveing Stirveling; ſo it appear'd nonſenſe to me. In the mean time, I thought it more probable that it was a detachment of dragoons ſent to threſh my jackett, in goeing up the coaſt, or to cut me off[f] from the Bridge of Iern, haveing no other paſſage back to Pearth. Houever, I got on horſeback, after eight, and haveing ſent ſeveralls beſt known in the countrie out to reconnoitre on all the roads, I continued my route four miles up the coaſt; and finding no further intelligence, and thinking it, in my conſcience, the hight of madneſs to riſque a detachment of gentlemen for thirtie old firelocks, for I had nothing elſe to doe, I changed my route nere Durie, and marched northward, croſs the countrie, nere Melvill Houſe, where I reſolved to take up my quarters that night, haveing great accommodation, and the houſe ſeeming prittie tenible, and place enough, if attackt, to put our horſes in ſecuritie; at leaſt, the place of all that countrie fitteſt for our purpoſe, and from that I was to ſend, next morning, ten of the command, that I might leave nothing undone, to bringe the few armes out of Wemyſs, and follow me to Pearth. But Major Balfour, to whom my Lord Mar had given the conjunct command, tho' he did not pretend to determine me, yet preſſt hard, before the whole command, that, being onlie nine miles

from Pearth, we ſhould marche that night to it. And, I remember, he made uſe of a maxime of ſome Marechall of France, which was, That in makeing a retreat, it ought to be made to purpoſe; to which I conſented, haveing no reaſon to give why I ſhould not. And, haveing day enough, fed our horſes, and halted there above an hour, and march'd, as we did all alonge, in order, and at leaſure, the ſhorteſt way thro' the hills of the north of Fife, and got to Pearth before it grew dark. I deſign'd, when we halted, to ſearch the houſe of Melville for armes, but I was aſſured, by thoſe who knew, that there was none.

When I changed my route, to marche northwards, Sir John Erſkine ſpoke to me about the boats. Being a creature of Mar's, his Lordſhip had let him into the ſecret, which I thought none there but I had known. He aſk'd me, What Harrie Craufurd's ſentiment of it was? I told him what had paſſed. He ſaid, Craufurd's anſuer was not particular, nor determin'd enough. I told him, I expected him, the night before, at Pittenweem, according to his promiſe, and, he not comeing, I could not detaine fourſcore horſe to waite on him, nor leave the command of them to run on errands; that the affair not being in ſo great forwardneſs, Mar had time to ſend any ſingle man to adjuſt all with him; or, if Sir John pleaſ'd, he, himſelf, not being then far from Creile, might return and doe it, ſince Mar had let him into that ſecret. He ſaid he was willing, but it ſhould not be as he pleaſ'd, but as I order'd; which I did, and he return'd. On our march, Sir Hugh Paterſone's changing of countenance, and turning pale, and blabbering ſtrange ſtuff, to cover what he was afraid everie bodie ſaw. William Maxewell, and Briſbain, rid up to me, and bid me look back to him. I had obſerved the poor wretch, with compaſſion, before, and ſpoke to them not to take notice; and ſaid, That ſuch things happne ſometimes to good men, and that, on another occaſion, he might doe well. But it was the more obſerveable, that this was the man who was uneaſie at putting out ſentries in Pittenweem, for fear, as he ſaid, of diſcourageing the gentlemen, and who gave himſelf airs on his getting to Pearth, ſaying, That the care their officers took, proceeded more from ſomething elſe than caution.

I found all our armie draun up before the toun of Pearth, and it

was then my Lord Mar's firſt and onlie commiſſion was read, and that my Lord Mariſhall [1] had joyn'd them with the gentlemen of Aberdeenſhire and thereabouts, for till then he had never been with the armie, and the many hundreds he was to bring along with him, ſo longe vaunted of, were not then fourſcore, for ſome few follou'd him afterwards; but if the horſes of the Fife, Pearth, and Stirveling ſhire ſquadrons were bad, thoſe were a great dale worſe. I rid up ſtraight to my Lord Mar, and made him my report. He aſkt me, Why I did not goe to Mackintoſh? I told him, I had no orders to obey Mackintoſh, and tho' I had them, I was not ſimple enough to think I could have been with him in time, or have been of any uſe had I been with him. He ſaid, it would have look'd bold. He aſkt me, Why I did not write to him? I told him, I had. He aſkt, With whom? I ſaid, Tho' I knew the man by ſight, I had forgot his name, but it was with the ſame who had brought me his letter. He turned away, and ſpoke to ſome other. That ſcoundrell, to whome the letter was intruſted, did not come to Pearth for tuo days after, and returned me my own letter. He was one Grahame, ſon to a ſteuard of Sir Thomas Bruce's.[2] As to that part of my Lord Mar's order, concerning the magiſtrats of touns, I brought alonge one from Couper, the others either got all out of the way, or were ſo much our friends, that I thought fit to take their words for it; and for publick monie in the hands of Cuſtome-houſe officers, there was no ſuch thing. Thus, I believe, I did my dutie; and, had I done otherwiſe, I am ſtill of opinion I had deſerved to have been hanged; for what intelligence could I truſt to if I did not truſt to Brigadeer Mackintoſh? And was ſuch a detachement of gentlemen to been thrown, in the beginning of our affair, without any ſhadow of reaſon? Would it not have diſcouraged thoſe who had not joyned us from joyning? and would not my Lord Mar have imputed the ruine of all to me? Which he has done ſince, in a great meaſure, on leſs grounds. When Major Balfour went to my Lord Mar, his Lordſhip demanded of him, Why we did not goe to Mackintoſh? And, on his anſuering as I did, Mar repeated the ſame to

[1] The last of this noble house, who became an exile with his brother, the Field-Marshall, and ended his life the chosen friend of Frederick of Prussia.

[2] Sir Thomas Bruce of Kinross.

him which he had ſaid to me, That it would have look'd bold. I own, ingenuouſlie, I did not know what to make of theſe words. Sometimes I thought they could admit of no other meaning but that he'd have been glade ſo many had been loſt, to give him a pretext for makeing his eſcape; but haveing then leſs reaſon to be uneaſie than in all that affair, I found his aim was only to diſcredit me. So, by this command, I was to have been ruin'd on all hands, by putting me in the worſt ſituation of any with regarde to the Gouvernment, and ſullieing my caracter amongſt thoſe I was engaged with.

Three days after, a friend of mine, the Laird of Orrok, who had been in Bruntiſland with Brigadeer Mackintoſh, came to toun, and he, as well as Robert Douglas, brought me Strathmore and Barafield's compliments, and told me they wiſht heartilie for me to command them in place of their Brigadeer, as did ſeverall others of the command; for that animal, who they begun then to find out to know nothing of the ſervice, was turned ſo inſupportable with his rank of Brigadeer, that in three or four days' time they could not bear him. He ſaid, That night the Brigadeer received the alarm, he order'd all under arms, in the open air, and went himſelf to bed; which ſhockt all thoſe of diſtinction and qualitie there, of which there was a great number very much ſuperior to him; and that Strathmore raiſed him, by telling him, it was more his dutie to be alert than any bodies; which Strathmore told me afterwards himſelf. Orrok informed me further, that he was [preſent] in the room when the Brigadeer receav'd a letter from Mar, which, after reading to himſelf, the Brigadeer deſired a great many to remove, but Barafield put Orrok into the chimnie, and he and Strathmore ſtood before him till the letter was read; and, if I remember right, his Lordſhip was pleaſ'd to accuſe me of plain downright couardice for not joyning Mackintoſh. Had his Lordſhip called a court-martial, and given me their cenſure or verdict, I, nor no man, could have taken it ill; and in thoſe caſes, when a man has to ſay for himſelf, his honour is clear'd; but to condemn me before I was judged, and murther my reputation underhand, which, dureing the courſe of a toileſome life, I had ſo carefully preſerved, and the only reward I had pretended, for ſo much danger and fatigue, after that of rendring myſelf

capable to ſerve my countrie, could only come from one who himſelf had no reputation to looſe; who, being alreadie ſo black, could take no ſtain, and to whom the good name of another was an eye-ſore. I ſay none could have been capable of it but ſuch a little creaping monſter, who, all his life, had ſubſiſted by a criminall induſtry, and who had never any thing to value himſelf upon, but his being a burthen and a blemiſh to his countrie. Houever, that not being the time to take notice of it, I ſtifled my reſentment, Mar being now a Generall, as far as a commiſſion could make him. Tho' I am not, as yet, fully convinced it was a reall commiſſion, for, tho' it was read on the head of all the armie, none but his ſpeciall friends ſaw it; it was ſaid, becauſe it put a conſtraint upon him of takeing ſuch a number of Counſellours, without whom he was to doe nothing. But it was ſtrange that thoſe who ſent it, if it was reall, neither ſent officers, pouder, nor armes, in that ſhip, which brought it, nor ſo much as the leaſt account of the King. It would appear it had been ſent off in haſt, and at the ſollicitation of ſome of Mar's truſtees in England; for we were never told of any goeing from Scotland to France, till this time that Mar call'd together all the noblemen and gentlemen then at Pearth, and propoſed our ſigning a petition to the Regent of France; which was read to us, firſt in Engliſh, and then in French. After hearing it read in both languages, Mar aſkt of thoſe who underſtood the French, If they thought the French tranſlation was juſt? For his part, he ſaid, He did not underſtand that language. No bodie makeing any anſuer, I ſaid, It was ſo juſt that I believed the Engliſh was tranſlated from the French, which made his Lordſhip ſnuff a little, without ſaying one word; for nothing could have led them into ſo many Galliciſmes as was in the Engliſh, if it had not been a tranſlation from the French, nor was there any preſent with us capable of writeing ſo good French, or did he, who imagin'd himſelf the moſt maſter of that language, read it with a tolerable accent. So, it was evident to me, it had been ſent to Ogilvie of Boyn from St Germains, to Rouen, and that he had brought it alonge with him.

The deſſigne of that paper was, informeing the Regent of our haveing taken armes, with the intention of aſſerting the right of, and reſtoreing our naturall King to his throne; and recovering our oun ancient rights and

liberties. It put him in mind of the ancient alliances, and the long harmony betuixt the French and Scots; and preſum'd on the juſtice of our cauſe to flatter ourſelves with his aſſiſtance, and beg'd of him to ſend us over our King, in the name of the Noblemen, Barons, and Gentlemen, ſubſcribers, who were indeed very numerous, for everie bodie would ſigne, and wrote doun their titles and deſignations at length, to both the French and Engliſh copies, and, amongſt others, one Frebairn, a printer, which a gentleman of rank and diſtinction of the Court of France aſſured me he read at full length, "Robert Frebairn, printer at Pearth,"[1] as well as ſome other who ſigned "Writer to the Signet," which was not takne notice of, tho' the other was; and ſaid, it was admir'd how Mar alloued it, for it look't like mocking the Regent, whom we addreſt under the name of Noblemen, Barons, and Gentlemen, or how the others ſuffered it, becauſe it gave too much ground to think we were all made up of ſuch canaile, and muſt neceſſarlie take off from the influence of ſuch ane application; nor did ever before Noblemen and Barons, who pretended to be the States of a countrie, aſkeing the aſſiſtance of a Souveraigne Prince, allow mechanicks or workmen to ſign with them; but it had been the ſame to Mar, had all the cobblers of Pearth deſir'd it, he had granted the favour. After this, Mar diſmiſſed Collonell Hay, and Doctor Abercrombie as Secretarie or Gouvernour, to France, to carrie the petition to the Regent; which he did in a very private manner, of himſelf, without conſulting with any bodie, and they at ſea before it was ſpoke of; when it was given out that they were gone to bring the King, and troopes, and arms, and amunition from France.

The manner of ſending away, and the choice of that ambaſſadour for negotiateing ſuch weighty matters, occaſion'd no little ſurprize to a great many, and, amongſt others, to me, to find a weak young boy, who had lately come from ſchoole, and who, all know, never will have a capacity for anything, imploy'd, without our conſent, in an affair which ſo much depended on, and who was of a family that had always been our enemies, and had onlie changed ſides with Mar, to whom he was brother-in-law and creature, appear'd every way ſuſpicious, as if Mar were trifling with the whole. For what notion could the Court of France have of us, who, they might

[1] This person was one of the printers to the Crown.

readilie ſuppoſe, ſent them one of our fineſt gentlemen; or, could Mar think that ſuch a procedure, after haveing cheated us ſo longe with lyes, muſt not create a jealouſie, houever ſtupid we were? Was it not reaſonable, conſidering his Lordſhip's caracter, and our being now ſenſible that till then we were impoſ'd upon by truſting him, and not haveing, after ſo long a time, heard one word of the King or the diſpoſition of France; for Boyn told us, he had come from Rouen, where he had heard nothing, and rather put us in doubt that things were as unfavourable as it was poſſible, and for that reaſon were kept a ſecret from us; ſince it was not to be thought that one who brought a commiſſion, and had a ſhip ſent expreſs with him, could be ſo intirelie ignorant, or bring no other packet, but, on the contrarie, brought us a form of a petition to the Regent, or at leaſt my Lord Mar propoſed one after his comeing, to beg the Regent to ſend the King to us, as if, after all the great expectations we had entertained of the Duke of Orleans, on Mar's aſſertions, he had made the King priſonner ſome where in France; for that was the conſtruction put upon it when he propoſed that addreſs all of a ſuddain to us, after expecting the King every day, for tuo months and a half. But, after all this, the ſending off one of his own little creatures, without any bodie's conſent, as if there were none to be conſider'd but himſelf, and as if we had no pretenſions to know the ſituation of our own affairs, argued the utmoſt contempt of all engaged, and augmented the jealouſie, ſo juſtlie conceived, that he was playing his own game by theſe tools, betuixt the King and us, while we were ſtill to be keept in the dark.

Some days after my returneing to Pearth, Mackintoſh was order'd to leave Bruntiſland, and march with thoſe under his command to Creile, Anſtruthers, and all thoſe touns where the boats lay, and to embarque in theſe places, and ſaile ſtraight over the Frith to whatever port the wind blew faireſt; and left ſome men in Bruntiſland Caſtle, as he was commanded, to amuſe the men-of-war who had been cannonadeing him there for tuo days together, without doeing the leaſt harm. Mr Craufurd, and ſome others, who were let into the ſecret, haveing prepar'd the boats, and made that affair prettie eaſie. Houever, by ſome miſmanagement of Mackintoſhes, there happned confuſion amongſt thoſe he commanded, and,

as I have been told by Barafield, if it had not been for the brave young Strathmore, the command would have mutienied, and, on ſome diſobligation receiv'd from the Brigadeer, who they now begunn to call "a baptized brute," would not have gone with him. All I remember further was, that my Lord Nairne[1] was ſaid to complain of him as much as any, for giveing all poſitive orders not to imbarke till he had ſent them word; which he did not doe till he had imbarqued himſelf, without conſidering the diſtances he was from the others, who receiv'd no orders till eight of the clock at night, and ſome later, and the tide gone back, when, by that time, they might have been landed on the other ſide, or nere it, haveing loſt ſome hours; and being, as it was ſaid, fudled, ſome he forgot intirely; which was the reaſon given by Strathmore, Barafield, and others, of their being chaſed into the Iſland of Mey by the men-of-war, by whom they were kept there eight days, with nere three hundred men, in a very miſerable condition, and of the tuo boats being taken in the paſſage of the Frith; for there was nothing more certain than their haveing all reached the other ſide before tide and wind changed, which brought doun the men-of-war upon them next morning. And it was ſaid, I don't pretend to determine how true, that this bad conduct ſtopt the paſſage of the other thouſand men, or at leaſt of a great part of them, who were all at the ſea ſide readie to imbarque.

Strathmore continued, with three hundred men, eight days in that Iſland, dureing which time the men-of-war threatned often to land upon him with their longe boats and great ſloops, which they had brought from Leith; but Strathmore, and thoſe with him, ſo ſoon as they pretended to land, made a good countenance, and drew up before them, and when the men-of-war, as well as the ſloops, fired their cannon and patereras from a very ſhort diſtance, they keept up their fire till they ſhould land, and return'd their civilities with huzzas. All this while the Highlandmen took all the ſmall proviſions that were ſent in the night time to Strathmore, tho' he took care to give them as great an allouance as the circumſtance would permit; in a word, they turned ſo intolerable, that none could have bore them but

[1] Lord William Murray, fourth son of the Duke of Athole, having married Margaret, heiress of the first Lord Nairne, obtained that title.

himſelf, who had the greatneſs of ſoul to overlook it; and tho' ſome there, on that ill-uſage of his from the Highlandmen, who at the ſame time were maltraiteing his own men, preſt him to goe off in the night, which he could often have done, he ſaid, determinately, He never would, till he ſaw an opportunitie of bringeing off the whole, and would be the laſt man who would ſet his foot in a boat; and he kept his word, for he was the laſt who left the iſland. Here, I think, the ſchool-boy, for he was not of age to be called a man, gave our conſummate hero a fair copie.

Mackintoſh, and the others of that tranſport, landed ſafely in different places of Eaſt Lothien, and after goeing about giddily, without knowing what he was to doe, no more that thoſe who ſent him over; haveing no poſitive orders, and hearing nothing from thoſe who he was told would joyn him, and who, inſtead of a body that could be of any uſe to him, were only forty or fifty horſe, conſiſting of a few gentlemen, and thoſe not got together, ſkulking where they beſt could about the Borders. So, after goeing to Haddintoun, one of the places Mar had named to him, he thought, haveing nothing to doe, he might goe in his rambles to the Citadelle of Leith, another place he had heard Mar mention. But his Grace of Argyle haveing made a very quick march to deliver the toun of Edinbourgh out of his hands, who were in a terrible conſternation at the approach of eleven hundred Highlandmen, for that was the number that paſt the Frith; whatever his intentions were as to that place, he found himſelf oblidged to turn his whole care to ſelf-preſervation, and imploy'd the little time he had in getting proviſions into the place, and barricadeing the breaches of that old antiquated fortification, and placeing ſhips cannon on the moſt advantageous places of the rempert, and provideing himſelf with powder out of the ſhips and toun; which was all done by the direction of one Major Nairne, ane alerte younge fellow, who had been ane officer of the armie, and came over to us tuo days before the paſſage of the Frith, and went alonge in that expedition out of friendſhip to my Lord Nairne. For the affair lookeing ſerious, the Brigadeer relaxed of that Highland pride, and left the management to that gentleman, which he had done to no man in Europe in the plundering of a toun, and happie that time and place alloued him to profit of Nairn's advice. The Duke of Argyle, who came late that night to

Edinbourgh, with three hundred dragoons, and five hundred foot,[1] marched doun with them to Leith next morning, together with the countrie Militia; and ſaw things in ſuch a poſture, that he judged they were not to be overrun, as it was reported, differing from his volunteers, who talk't of nothing but the immediate deſtruction of thoſe Highlandmen; knowing they were not to ſtand the brunt, the very ſame humour running amongſt them as amongſt us, each truſting more to his nighbour than to himſelf.

I freelie own, that no man of the partie has ſo bad ane opinion of Highlandmen[2] as I; and that what they are capable of doeing, in a plain field, againſt regular troops, depends on accident, or the irregularitie of the troops, and that they never will be brought to attack anie who have the leaſt cover, nor will the wit of man bring them to ſtand cannon, which has ane aſtoniſhing influence over them; but where they are inveſted, and ſee no retreat, I am of opinion that none are capable to make a more vigorous defence in a breach, for they fire as well as any, from under cover, againſt attackers, and in the melee, which muſt happne in a ſtorm, their ſabres are dangerous weapons; and had his Grace of Argyle attackt the eleven hundred Highlandmen then, without further ceremonie, with his eight hundred regular troopes, of which there was three hundred dragoons, whoſe talents doe not ly in fighting on foot, he might have had great cauſe to repent that familiaritie, and, at the ſame time, have diſcover'd of how little uſe his Militia was to him. It's likely theſe, or the like conſiderations, moved his Grace to return to Edinbourgh to provide cannon to diſlodge them, by which method he'd ſoon ſucceeded, but they gave him the ſlip the night following, and retired to Seaton Houſe, ſeven miles from Leith. I was preſent when Mar got the account of Mackintoſhes landing ſafe in Lothien, for thoſe who came from the coaſt aſſured it was ſo, and that the men-of-war had not ſo much as diſcovered them; which elevated his Lordſhip extreamlie, and made me ſay to him, That all that could be ſaid of it was, that it was a raſh project, which, hitherto, had ſucceeded well.

Mackintoſh, after being inveſted in the Citadell of Leith, or on the

[1] More correctly, 200 regular infantry, and about 600 militia and volunteers.

[2] His prejudices, as a regular soldier, certainly lead him to undervalue the Highlanders too much, as was plainly proved in the subsequent Civil War of 1745.

approach of the enemie, had found means to ſend tuo letters to my Lord Mar. We, in the mean time, knowing nothing of this, were order'd to march, by break of day next morning, and drew up without the toun, where we continued three hours; and, after James Keith,[1] brother to my Lord Mariſhall, had come alonge the line, at a full gallop, telling us of Sir William Windham's ſurpriſeing Briſtoll, and Sir William Blacket, Berwick and Newcaſtle, which occaſion'd great rejoyceing and huzzas to almoſt all who reallie believed it.

His Lordſhip of Mar came out about ten of the clock; orders were inſtantlie ſent alonge the line, that all Noblemen, Heads of Clans, and Commanders of Corps, ſhould repair that moment to a houſe in the front; which accordinglie being done, care was takne to put out all others, and the doors ſhut. My Lord, with a moſt dejected countenance, and a ſad voice, told us, He was ſorrie to give us the bad neus of Mackintoſhes being inveſted in the Citadell of Leith, and that his goeing there, contrarie to his Lordſhip's laſt orders, would, in all appearance, prove a fatall miſtake to him; and next read us tuo diſmall letters, where Mackintoſh, appearing diſheartned, ſaid that a few hours would determine his fate, in theſe words, but that he'd doe his beſt; tho' he mentioned the preparations of cannon and bombs with terrour, which, he ſaid, would ſoon doe his work. My Lord Mar ſaid, He gave him over for loſt, and did not ſee that we could help him in the leaſt, except by makeing a feint towards Stirveling, to bring the Duke of Argyle back, and even that appear'd to him unneceſſarie, believing him alreadie takne. I aſkt his Lordſhip, What pouder Mackintoſh had? believing it poſſible for him to reſiſt for ſome time, in caſe he had pouder; but Mar, not knowing what pouder he had, ſince he had given him none with him, would not hear me, and made no anſuer. In the mean time, Generall Hamilton ſaid, That makeing a feint towards Stirveling might doe good, and could doe no harm, and, in all events, it ought to be done. No bodie ſaying one worde, the marche was determin'd, and we marched off the ground that moment to Auchterardoch.

I remember my ſquadrone and Southeſque's happneing to be drawn up that

[1] Afterwards the celebrated Field Marshall Keith, killed at the Battle of Hochkirchen.

day on the left, for as yet we had not agreed on our ranking or poſts, I foreſaw, by the others marcheing off, that one of thoſe tuo ſquadrons would be ſent with the artillery and baggage over the Bridge of Ierne, which was ſome miles about, and remembered of old that it was one of the moſt fatigueing commands of any, went and ſtood by the Generall Hamilton till the order ſhould be given, not doubting but Alexander Maitland, Major to my Lord Southeſque's ſquadrone and Major of Brigade, haveing been in the firſt war ſometime a ſojer, would put it on me, and ſave his own ſquadron; which happned as I ſuſpected; for tho' I heard the Generall order Southeſque to marche, Maitland turned about and order'd me. I told them I had foreſeen it, and had been waiteing there expreſſlie in caſe the Generall had order'd me, to tell them, that if they would not allow me to be the oldeſt ſquadron, which I pretended to juſtlie, from the rank of the countie, at leaſt I hoped they would have more modeſtie than make me the youngeſt; and their ſquadron haveing never as yet pretended to take the rank of mine, tho' I could not ſay but they might have done it on as juſt grounds as any other, the tour of fatigue fell to them, as the Generall had rightlie order'd it; this onlie to ſhew, that tho' we did not know much of diſcipline, yet we entered into the little chicane of the trade.

We cantoon'd that night at Auchterarduch, and about it, where we came very late, which occaſion'd great difficultie in getting quarters; and march'd next morning, and halted towards night at Arduch, and drew up there for ſome time, both foot and horſe, where it was believed we were to ly in the fields[1] that night. But all of a ſuddain, I received an order to follow the other horſe, who begun to file off; we marched, at a great trot, in a heavie rain, in the dark, and came to Dumblain betwixt eight and nine. There being but one ſtreet in that country village, which was ſo narrow that tuo horſes were all that could ſtand or march in a front, and ſix hundred horſe (for Huntlie, beſides a great many ſtragglers, haveing now joyned us, we became in a few days, and were at that time, as ſtronge in horſe as ever after,) throng'd us ſo, that with the croude, and darkneſs, in that narrow ſtreet, we could neither light, nor get to our quarters, in tuo hours' time, tho' the quartermaſters had all readie before our comeing; and when they lighted, a great

[1] This was in the middle of October, Old Style.

many thronged into the firſt ſtables they came to, without regarde to billets, which occaſion'd ſome to be in the ſtreets at midnight.

So ſoon as I lighted, which was after ten, I found my ſtable poſſeſt, but haveing endeavour'd, with very pathetique expreſſions, to perſuade thoſe gentlemen that their occaſioning a general confuſion, as well as the injurie done me, was no matter of jeaſt, they thought fit to decamp and provide for themſelves; and after goeing a little about to ſee how my friends were accommodate, I was deſir'd by my Lord Drummond to come to Drummond of Bouhadie's houſe, where he had takne up his quarters.[1] I found with him there Linlithgow, Southeſque, Mariſhall, Kilſeyth, and the Laird of Keer.[2] I aſkt his commands, in a reſpectfull manner as one muſt doe to their Generall. He ſaid, He had none; but that he wanted to ſee me. I thought it my dutie to tell him the confuſion I had left our people in on the ſtreets, and took occaſion, at the ſame time, to ſay, That if the leaſt alarme happned, we muſt be the unluckieſt people on earth; and that, being ſo crouded, if it took us tuo hours to diſmount, when at our eaſe, and as yet not got into ſtables, how long muſt we be of mounting, if hurried by an alarme, eſpecially, ſince, by what I had heard and ſeen, there was not a ſtable in the whole village which a horſe of any ſize could enter without takeing off the ſaddle; and that all were in ſuch confuſion that the maſters had given up their horſes, in the rain, to their ſervants, and were both crouding in at every open door; ſo that the maſters did not know where their ſervants were, nor the ſervants where their maſters were; and, conſidering all that diſorder, and our being ſo crowded in ſo narrow a place, but [ſix] miles from Stirveling, and that a great many, if not all the gentlemen, would goe to bed, and, to croun all, no ſentries out, I lookt on that night as the laſt of our affair, ſince it depended on the enemie to make it ſo, who muſt be informed from the toun of our ſtate; for the toun's folks were all of them Whigs. Drummond ſaid, That he expected Gordon of Glenbucket, with three hundred of Huntlie's Highland foot, and he'd

[1] Drummond of Bohaldie, alias M'Grigor, who had a great following in the Clan Alpin.

[2] Stirling of Kier, who, tried for his life for being in arms in 1707 at the Bridge of Turk, again assumed them in 1715.

make them put out ſentries; and, for the gentlemen, he'd ſend and order them to goe to the great room, where the Biſhop's Bibliotheque[1] was, and ſent one of his Aide-de-camps to order them there. I told him, He might doe what he pleaſ'd; but that I knew the nature of the gentlemen ſo well, that it would be to no purpoſe; that the place was ſo crouded, their being there would be to as little, for tho' they were on horſeback, in ſo ſtraitned a place, fiftie foot would deſtroy them all, for they'd run their heads againſt one another in the dark, and needed no other enemies but themſelves; for I had no notion, in that caſe, of their getting out of the village, far leſs of their getting on horſeback. He aſkt me, What I'd have him doe? I anſuer'd, I ſheu'd him his danger and our's, his orders would tell him the reſt. He ſaid, He had no orders, nor knew any thing of the horſes comeing away, till he ſaw them marcheing off, and, ſince he commanded the horſe, he thought it his dutie to put himſelf at their head, and come alonge with them. Then, I was aſkt by ſome other, What I thought was to be done in that caſe? for all there ſeem'd of one ſentiment, and turned towards me. I ſaid, I was divelliſhlie at a loſs, for I had never ſeen the like caſe before; but yet, haveing no orders, it was naturall for us to conſult our own ſafetie, ſince the whole depended on it, and that was to give orders to feed our horſes well; for, above all, they were to be takne care of, and after that draw out of the toun, and then either halt there till he got orders from Mar, or return, ſince he had no orders to ſtay, and conſequently nothing to doe there. He ſaid, He'd not return till he got orders. I ſaid, He might doe as he thought fit, but if the enemie ſhould get betuixt us and home, he might doe worſe, for if all were rightlie conſider'd, they had a ſuperioritie of horſe, but that was what I fear'd leaſt; the being ſurpriſed in the toun was all. My Lord Kilſeyth,[2] who was lying at the catch all this while, aſkt me, in laughing, Where was our home?[3] I ſaid, My Lord Mar's camp, at Arduch or Pearth, which was the ſame roade. After that, the Laird of

[1] A Library, contained in a house of some extent, founded by the Venerable Bishop Leighton, for the use of the clergy of his See of Dumblane.

[2] William, third Viscount of Kilsyth, attainted for the Rebellion. He died at Rome in 1733.

[3] Rather a home question at the time.

Keer ſaid, There was no fear, for he'd ſend his friend, John Stirveling, on whom he ſeem'd to have a more than ordinarie dependance, to the end of the longe cauſey which leads from the Bridge of Stirveling, and he'd ſtand ſentrie. I ſaid, It was impoſſible he could doe that, in ſuch weather, for a whole night, after haveing ſuffered ſuch fatigue, and many accidents might happne to a ſingle man; but, at the beſt, if the enemie had a mind to attack us, they'd follow him cloſe at the heels, and by that we ſhould neither have time to mount, or get out of the toun. They ſeem'd to relie on the Laird of Keer, and he on his friend John Stirveling, which I have oftne laught at ſince, for this gentleman, Keer, haveing met his ladie that morning of our battle, who came to the armie to ſee him, ſent her up to the hills, to a place called Glenduchorn,[1] where he folloued her in great heaſt, ſo ſoon as the work begun; and which made it ſingular was, that it was not near his own houſe, and therefore could not happen by accident, but muſt have been the effect of forecaſt and deſign; tho' it may be ſaid for him, by thoſe who judge charitablie of ſuch things, that ſeeing folks buſie about killing of men, out of a ſpeciale love to the King and Countrie he providentlie went off to beget more, and recruite. But, as men are valued according to their falling in to the common cant, or rather outdoing one another in extravagancie, this man was reckon'd one of the King's beſt friends; which was enough to give everie thing he ſaid then, as well as afterwards, no ſmall influence, and made it eaſie to him to ſpeak big, who was to riſque nothing. Mariſhall[2] was the onlie of them who ſeem'd to reaſon; for, ſaid he, The Duke of Argyle, who had gone to Leith, could not be back till tuelve of the clock that night, and he knew his Grace's temper ſo well, that he was ſure he had order'd Witham[3] not to ſtir in his abſence. I anſuer'd, It might very readilie be ſo, but there was no truſting a thing of ſuch conſequence as King and Countrie's cauſe, our lives and honours, to a conjecture; that all I aſkt of them was to put us in a condition either to fight or run away, but, as we were

[1] The Duchroun is in the Forest of Glenartney. It is well known to sportsmen as famous for moor game, *me teste*.

[2] I should have supposed him as likely to do so as Sinclair himself.

[3] General Witham or Whitham behaved but indifferently at Sheriffmuir.

ſituated, we had neither in our power, and there needed not fiftie foot to deſtroy us all.

Drummond aſkt me to ſtay ſupper, which I did, to ſee what he would reſolve: And, in the mean time, Glenbucket, who commanded the Highland foot, and had marched very hard, came in, complaining griveouſlie of his men's being fatigued, and of all their pouder and armes being poyſon'd with rain; they were put under cover in the church and toun-houſe, and were breaking the benches of the church to make fire, which, he told Drummond, was impoſſible for him to hinder. His Lordſhip order'd him to poſt a hundred men on a bridge over a little rivulet, at the end of the toun which was neareſt Stirveling. He ſaid, He'd doe what he could; but he did not believe the fellows would goe there, and that, if they did, their arms were ſo much out of order they could not fire; and went about it. I aſkt my Lord Drummond, If the enemie could come to us no other way but over that bridge, and at that end of the toun? Keer anſuer'd, No, except they went about. So, it being preſumed that they would never put themſelves to that trouble, I ſaid no more to that point; onlie took freedom to tell his Lordſhip further what might happen to us, ſuppoſeing we were out of the toun, and that the enemie, who he did not deny was ſtronger in horſe then we, ſhould preſs us hard, for I did not believe he would hazard fighting them, that even, in the caſe of retireing before them, we ſhould be at a loſs; and that it was the greateſt tryell of regular troopes to make a retreat in good order. I told him the way of makeing a retreat was, the one half of our ſquadron keeping a good firm countenance, and fronting towards the enemie, while the other half were to gallop off, and halt at a good diſtance behind them, in ſome proper ground, where they were to wheel and doe the ſame; and that was to be done by turns, till we were in a place of ſafetie: And that he was not to expect any ſuch thing of our people, who would not halt till they had got to Arduch, eight miles from Dumblain, where Mar was, and it would be a thouſand to one if ſuch a deroute would not ſend all our Highlandmen to the hills, and God onlie knew if ever we could get them back again; and if the enemie purſued us to Pearth, our piſtells, for we had no other arms, would not defend it longe, if we pretended to defend it at all. I beg'd of him not to miſunderſtand me, for I did not tax the

gentlemen for want of courage, and that I'd much rather attack with them than retreat with them. But he was to have ſome regarde to their being undiſciplin'd, and to the enemie's ſtrength, which lay in horſe; nor did he know when the Duke of Argyle had left Leith. But I was very eaſie about all that, provided he would draw us out of that narrow hole, and put it in our pouer toact like honeſt men.

Mariſhall and Drummond ſpeaking ſoon after of goeing to bed, the laſt having deſired Kilſeyth to goe to the Bibliothec, I went home to my quarters, and told Hary Balfour, who I found there, what I had ſaid to my Lord Drummond. He had been ane Officer and Major to the Grey Dragoons in King William's war in Flanders, and had not ſo intirelie forgot his trade that his opinion was to be neglected by ſuch as we were, and was no leſs uneaſie than I. He bid me goe alonge with him to the Bibliothec. I ſaid, I'd ſet me doun by the fire, and would not ſtir, whatever happned. But, preſſing me hard, he perſuaded me to goe with him, tho' I told him I'd certainelie ſay ſomething diſoblidgeing to thoſe Lords. I went firſt to the bridge where the Highlandmen were poſted, and in place of a hundred men, there were onlie thirtie. Tho' now midnight, a good many were yet ſtrouleing about with their horſes in their hands; ſome had got their horſes over on the other ſide of the bridge, without the guarde of Highlandmen, who, they not underſtanding, would neither allow them to paſs or repaſs; ſome one had fallne, on horſeback, over a precipice into the river, but that was little to the purpoſe. I came back to the Bibliothec, where I found Kilſeyth and Linlithgow. Hary Balfour, by this time, had told Hary Bruce of Clackmannan, and old Major Graham, who had been officers in King James' armie, what I had been ſaying to Drummond and the others. They, and John Cockburn, a man of very good ſenſe, who had ſerved the ſame maſter with the other tuo, came to me, and ſaid this might eaſily be the laſt night of our affair; none of them being pleaſ'd with our management. I told them, in Kilſeyth's hearing, every thing I had ſaid before to Drummond, and the other Mariſhalls, for they ſeem'd ſo conſummated in their generallſhip, that none of them imagin'd himſelf a leſs man than a Velt-Mariſhall. They agreed to what I ſaid, and found it hard my Lord Drummond would not

put it in our pouer either to fight or run away; and aſk't me, If I would not goe with them to Drummond? I told them, I'd ſee the fool damned firſt, and that he was gone to bed; that I was reſolved to ſit doun there, and happen what alarm would, I'd not ſtir.[1] They being impatient, went to Drummond alonge with Hary Balfour, found him in bed, and came back ſoon after, to tell me they had Drummond's allouance to me to doe as I thought proper. Upon which Hary Bruce and I went together, raiſed all the gentlemen out of their beds, told them they'd find their ſervants and horſes a little without that end of the toun we came in at, ane hour after, which was three of the clock; went in to everie barn, byer, and ſtable, and told the ſervants the ſame of their maſters, without the leaſt noiſe, (for they could not been got together in the village,) and bid them make uſe of their time in feeding their horſes heartilie; and, in makeing that round, there was neither poſt nor ſentrie, except at the bridge. I was reſolved we ſhould rather die in the cold than be buried there alive, and looſe our lives and honours in ſuch confuſion; for the ſetting fire to one houſe would have bid fair to have deſtroy'd us all, at leaſt we had done ſo to one another. I got on horſeback, with the firſt ſent to reconnoitre, or rather patroul, [and] formed without the toun; where we waited patientlie till after nine, that my Lord Drummond had ſleept out and drunk his tea. Then he came out, mounted on his beſt horſe, rid alonge our front, with all his academie airs, went towards a hill to ſee the enemie's camp, and had not gone three hundred yards, when his horſe threw him, in our view, which occaſion'd laughter, to ſee his Lordſhip crippling, and following his horſe.

By this care, if I gained the friendſhip of the gentlemen, who were all convinced how much I was right, yet it looſed me more and more that of the Lords, who were angrie their knouledge was called in queſtion, and they not lookt on as infallible. We continued there till tuelve of the clock, in the bittereſt cold that I ever felt; at laſt his Lordſhip of Drummond, haveing ſheu'd all the reſolution of a great Captain, as he thought, was deſigneing to marche back, when he reflected that he had forgot to pro-

[1] In all this matter the Master shows himself much more ready to discover errors than to correct them.

claime the King at Dumblaine, haveing had ſo great matters to mind, and returned to the toun, with a few gentlemen, and did it.

It was very obſervable, not onlie by Mar's manner, but by what he ſaid on the opening of that Councill before we marched, that his Lordſhip had no mind to ſtir on that occaſion from Pearth, where he had neſtled; for, in the few meetings that he alloued us, it was always his methode to tell his ſentiements firſt, knouing there were ſo manie who would not find it their intereſt to contradict him. Houever, Generall Hamilton's propoſal ſeeming to pleaſe, it being once tabled openlie, his Lordſhip, in caſe it might be afterwards objected to him that Mackintoſhe's ruine was occaſion'd by his not moveing, durſt not hazard the loſs of credit which might follou on it. I have been ſince aſſured, from very good hands, nor can it be denied, that Generall Hamilton made a further ſtreatch after this, in the march, in a private Councill of War, where Drummond, Mariſhall, Linlithgow, and Kilſeyth were, what others were preſent I can't tell, and preſſ't it, that when the horſe went to Dumblain the foot ſhould marche up to the end of the longe cauſey which leads to the bridge of Stirveling, and take poſt there before the Duke of Argyle's return; which was viſiblie ſeen we could have done. He propoſed by it the ſtrikeing the terrour deeper, and a greater certaintie of Mackintoſh's relief; next thing was, that haveing once poſt on that cauſey, which is no leſs a defille then the bridge, but ane Engliſh mile longe, he'd put it out of the Duke of Argyle's pouer to come over to us, no more than we could goe to him; and demonſtrated, by the ſituation of the ground, and the nearneſs of the hills to that narrow cauſey, that it was impoſſible for him to come at us, and he'd be tyed to the defence of the bridge; while the Clans, who were then at Dumbarton, or ſuppoſed by Mar to be there, and within fourteen miles of Stirling, were to be order'd by Mar to march towards Stirveling, along thoſe ſtrong grounds on the other ſide of Forth, where, beſides the Clans being more numerous than his Grace of Argyle's whole armie at that time, his dragoons could not act, tho' he left the defence of the bridge to goe meet them; which he durſt not venture on, being oblidged to leave no ſmall poſt of his little armie to defend the bridge againſt us; nor durſt he ſo much as ſend out a detachement while we were ſo near,

and the Clans moveing up to him; ſo that Mackintoſh might have joyned the Clans without the leaſt hazard or paine; and, if before ſuperior to him, how much muſt they be then, and how his Grace muſt be embaraſſ'd in ſuch a ſituation; and what would happne, he left them to judge. Ane other advantage ſtill ſprunge from this, which was, the cutting off of Evans' Regiment of Dragoons from joyning, which they then knew was landed in the weſt of Scotland. This was ſo clofelie brought home to Mar, that he had not one word to ſay againſt it, but that of the want of proviſions, which he induſtriouſlie took care we ſhould want, and Hamilton undertook to furniſh, to his Lordſhip of Mar's conviction; and it was agreed and reſolved upon, and with that deſſigne the horſe marched on to Dumblain. But no ſooner they were gone than Mar ſtopt ſhort with the foot, and on Hamiltone's deſireing to purſue their deſigne, Mar told him that Mariſhall and Linlithgow, who were now gone before with the horſe, ſince their meeting, had refuſed to doe it, and for that reaſon he'd ſtay at Arduch, and not goe nearer. Hamilton durſt purſue it no further then, or, if he had, durſt Mariſhall or Linlithgow have denied what Mar once ſaid, at that time of day. They have been accuſed of it ſince; and not being now altogether ſo great dependers upon him, they have given his Lordſhip the lye. Mar, to ſave his honour, averrs Sir Heugh Paterſone ſaid ſo to him, and has recourſe to the honeſt favourite ſtratagem; Mar being at a loſs, Sir Heugh muſt bear it; a very good uſe of a man on whom he has put ane idiot humpbackt ſiſter. But ſuppoſe Mariſhall, Linlithgow, and worthy Sir Heugh, had all agreed to it, or a little, trickie, lying boy, and a ſtupid fool and a ſcoundrell, for tho' no more could be ſaid to the laſt, that muſt be own'd he is, for bearing the lye,—fit perſons to determine the fate of a countrie; or had they either authoritie, or ſo much as drie bread, but by Mar's means, out of our pockets, or would not he [have] ſent them packing on any other occaſion but where there was ane appearance of fighting? This diſconcert was in a great meaſure the occaſion of our confuſion at Dumblain, but does not one bit excuſe our negligence, our Generalls being told of the foot's halting, and it was our buſineſs to take care of ourſelves; betuixt the tuo we had great luck not to be loſt.

Then we marched back, and cantoon'd in and about Auchterarduch, where

the foot joyn'd us from Arduch. How, in that wide cantoonment we miſſed the haveing many of our horſes and men takne, or cut off, I can't account for; onlie that regular troops make but bad partizans, and, above all, the Engliſh, who have been leaſt uſed of anie to the *petite guerre;* but what is moſt certain, that it was not oweing to our own management. Here I muſt ſay, that in all our marches, we, I mean our Generalls, or thoſe who aſſumed that title, contributed not a little to our confuſion, by beginning their marches too late; and, conſequentlie, comeing too late to our ground or place where they deſigned to cantoon; ſo, not knouing the ground, or ſituation of the place, we neither knew where or how to place ſentries, or, if attackt, where to applie for ſupport, which is always avoided as much as poſſible by regular troops, even in relieving ſmall poſts; for I myſelf have ſeen when the one poſt knew nothing of the other, by comeing late to the ground where they took their poſtes, and not ſettling the parole and a communication of ſentries, neceſſarie on many occaſions, that the patrouilles have fired on each other, everie command, in that caſe takeing care of themſelves, and then it's a great accident if both commands don't goe together by the ears; but it was in vain to mention this to people void of care and reaſon, and who never had either ſentrie or patrouile, and were in no manner of concern what happned, provided they commanded. For exemple, would anie man on earth, who commanded ſuch a number of troopes in ſuch a ſituation as Dumblain, in the very noſe of the enemie, not to ſay gentlemen, of which there were a great many, everie way as good men as Drummond, if not better, gone to bed, and leave everie thing in that diſorder which he did? Eſpeciallie one who never had ſeen any thing, who, when he takes ſuch a command upon him, is ſuppoſed to make up with vigilance what he wants of experience, and not riſque in the leaſt, by truſteing to his own weakneſs, or indulgeing his lazieneſs, what he, and all his race, and thouſands like him, could never be capable to make reſtitution of to his Countrie; but to take the command on that occaſion, and goe to bed, as if all there did not deſerve the leaſt conſideration, and the whole below his care, I muſt own ſurpaſſes my comprehenſion, and to be excuſed no way, but that it was not one farthing's matter whether he was aſleep or awake, which, I'm afraid, his Lordſhip has not the good ſenſe to knou, but

had got that whim in his head that it was great and noble to be calm and ſerene, and ſleep in the midſt of dangers; if that was it, there was nere ane old woman in the village, or a child, or a bouer, who we alloued to ſleep, but did as much, and moſt of ourſelves; and we muſt not imagine that heros of that kind are ſo wanting in the world, but if found amongſt regular troopes, where no manner of excuſe is admitted for ſurpriſes, ſuch heroes are always recompenſed by being hang'd.

While we were in our marche to Dumblain, Sir Robert Gordon had been commanded towards Doun Caſtle; what the deſſigne of ſending fiftie horſe that way was, I never underſtood, for he had no orders but to ſtay till further orders, which, had he obey'd, the Generall's forgetting him, he had been there till the enemie had takne him, which was inexcuſable to treat gentlemen ſo, who were each of them more ignorant then another, and no bodie with them who ever bore the name of a ſojer. They frightned away the Militia from cutting the Bridge of Doun, who retired into the caſtle, and haveing ſtaid a whole day there from very earlie in the morning till nine of the clock at night, after ten got into the little toun where we all were, without being challenged by anie bodie. And here I muſt tell a remark I made of that regiment of three hundred Highland foot which was with us at Dumblain. Being out at a ſorte of exerciſe, ſome time before we marched from Pearth, in makeing a generall ſalvo, they had but ten pieces that fired, which one Gordon of Abergeldie took notice of as well as I.

We marched back next day to Pearth, where we ſoon heard of Mackintoſhes makeing his retreate to Seatone Houſe; Mar being mightilie pleaſed he had made this bold ſtep, and given his arms ſuch a reputation in the world, but let no occaſion ſlip of ſheuing how much he was diſpleaſed with Mackintoſh for not obeying his laſt orders, as he termed it, tho' he never told what his laſt orders were; but the matter was to root out all ſuſpicion of being acceſſarie to a thing that was like to have ſo bad a conſequence, and if people did not believe him infallible and a prodigie, they could believe him nothing at all. If I may be alloued to aſſert, by all that I heard from Mar, with whome I had occaſion to ſpeak on that ſubject, and by what he had ſaid to

me, he had, nor could have, no determined view in it, and ſo could give no fixt or poſitive orders; and if there was anie other place named to Mackintoſh, beſides the tuo former, Leith and Haddintoun, it was the Abbey of Holie Rood Houſe, which I have heard from ſome of Mar's intimate counſellours, where Mackintoſh had been in much worſe circumſtances then at Leith, for the Duke of Argyle comeing to Edinbourgh with his detachement in a very ſhort time after he could have been at the Abbey, he had been ſhut up that night; and comeing there hungrie and fatigued, had ſurrender'd next day, for the wretched ſuburbs of Edinbourgh could not have provided him ſo ſuddainlie with what was neceſſarie for a thouſand men, as the ſhip ſtores did at Leith; beſides, the Edinbourgh magazins, which are all there, of meale, wine, brandie, and everie thing elſe, and the ſhip's cannon and pouder, which he wanted intirelie, for we, haveing ſo little, gave him none alonge with him, nor was it to be found in any other place; and theſe ſupplies made the Duke of Argyle pay him more reſpect then he would have done otherwiſe, and contributed moſt of any thing to his retreat.

To make good what I advance, that there was not the leaſt care takne to ſupplie them with any neceſſarie before they went from us, Strathmore, and Barafield,[1] his Liutennant-Collonell, told me, at Pearth, that tho' their regiment was to go on that expedition, three hundred of their men, which was by much the greateſt part, wanted flints. I aſkt them, Why they did not repreſent it to Mar or Generall Hamilton? They ſaid, They had done it to both, and both were deaf to it. I told them, Were I to command, as it was once propoſed, I would not receave ſuch men, and that it was better to have three hundred feuer, for the moment they came to anie action, theſe men muſt run away, and, by their exemple, carrie others with them, and could not faile to ruine the whole, or mutinie; for no man's ſo ſtupid but knous the want of a flint; and, being Low Countrie men, they neither had ſuords, or pretended to make uſe of any, which was the mad excuſe when it was complain'd the Highlandmen wanted fire-arms; and if Mar had no flints to give, why not ſend others in their place? Houever, I told them I had a ſmall parcell,

[1] Walkinshaw of Barafield.

which I brought with me, out of which I'd give them three hundred; and being then on horſeback, to goe on that command to Creile and the other touns, I told Barafield to get them from one of my ſervants, at my quarters; but, not finding him, they marched to Bruntiſland without them. On my return I gave them to Robert Douglas, a Liutennant of that regiment, who carried them to Strathmore before his regiment imbarkt. Tho' theſe things tended to certaine ruine, it was a crime of the deepeſt dye to take anie notice of them.

By Mar's intercepted letters to Viſcount Kenmure and Mr Forreſter, ſince printed, it's plaine Mar had no other aime, in ſending that detachement over the Frith, then ridding his hands of ſo many men, for fear we had oblidged him to marche, to paſs the Forth, ſo ſoon as Huntlie came up to us, haveing always threatned it before he joyn'd, and complain'd that his not joyning was the onlie thing which hindered us; but when he was within three days' marche of us, Mar ſets the other expedition on foot, and ſends off Mackintoſh, with his detachement, to Bruntiſland, and preſt it, right or wronge, with all the hurrie imagineable, as will appear by his letter to me, for fear Huntlie, whoſe vaſſalls the Mackintoſhes are, ſhould [have] enquired into the reaſonablenes of the expedition, and the encouragement to it, and put a ſtop to the whole by not allouing them to goe; and, with the aſſiſtance of all concerned, force Mar to take the other courſe, with our whole armie, and marche to the foords of Forth,[1] when the river was low and paſſable, and when the Clans were ſo ſituated as to come and favour our paſſage, and, together, at leaſt four times ſtronger then the Duke of Argyle; who, as yet, was not reinforced, and we as ſtronge as ever we could be afterwards, becauſe of our daylie deſertion; for all that came with Seaforth was but fourteen hundred men, Sir Donald Mackdonald's, which made the one half, included, who ſtay'd to waite on Seaforth, by Mar's orders. Lochiele and Stueart of Apine had been with the Clans, but for his Lordſhip's willfulneſs, in revengeing private quarrells on the Duke of Argyle, which keept back a thouſand. But we ſhall ſuppoſe that he had no hand in this, (tho' it's notorious it was ſo,) and

[1] Commonly called the Fords of Frew, near Aberfoil. Here Charles Edward passed in 1745.

that his Lordſhip wanted the joyning of theſe tuentie-four hundred men. Did not we looſe much more out of the whole then that number, by deſertion, before they joyned, not to count thoſe who paſſed the Frith? And did we not ſee that the Duke of Argyle muſt ſoon be ſtrengthned? Moſt that we pretended to expect any friendſhip from, or who the Gouvernment were moſt afraid of, will, at that time, be found to have been ſeized in England, and Mar was not ignorant of it; nor was it poſſible he or any man, could expect that after things were in a great meaſure clear'd up there, that King George would neglect us, ſo many of his avoued ennemies, got together in arms, when the great bodie of the troopes were in England doeing nothing.

Haveing thus given reaſons for not ſending over Mackintoſh, let us conſider the invitations and motives Mar had for ſending him, which will no where appear better then in his own letters mention'd; both which, concerning the matter in hand, I ſhall inſert here, in his own words:—

To Viscount Kenmure.

My Lord,—I longe extreamlie to hear from you, you may be ſure, ſince I have not had the leaſt accounts almoſt of your motions ſince I ſent the detachement over. I hope all is prittie right again; but it was ane unluckie miſtake of Brigadeer Mackintoſh in marcheing from Haddintoun to Leith. I cannot but ſay tho', that it was odd your Lordſhip ſent no orders or intelligence to him, when you had reaſon to expect that parties comeing over every day. His retreat he made from Leith, and now from Seaton, with the help of the mouvement I made from this, makes ſome amends for the miſtake; and I hope the partie of men with him will be of great uſe to you and the cauſe. I wiſh you may find a way of ſending the incloſed to Mr Forreſter, which I leave open for your Lordſhip to read; and I have little further to ſay to you then what you will find in it. I know ſo little of the ſituation of your affairs, that I muſt leave to yourſelf what is fit for you to doe, as will moſt conduce for the ſervice, and I know you will take good advice. My humble ſervice to all friends with you, particularlie Brigadeer Mackintoſh, Lord Nairne, Lord Charles Murray, and Mackintoſh, who, I

hoped, are joyned you longe ere nou; and, indeed, they all deſerve praiſe for their gallant behaviour. I muſt not forget Kinackin,[1] who, I hear, ſpoke ſo reſolutlie to the Duke of Argyle from the Citadell; and I hope Innercale, and all my men with him, are well, and their countriemen longe to be at them; which, I hope, they and we ſhall ſoon. I have ſent another copie of the incloſed to Mr Forreſter by ſea, ſo it will be hard if none of them come to his hands. I know your Lordſhip will endeavour to let me hear from you as ſoon as poſſible, which I longe impatientlie for; I hope you will find a way of ſending it ſafe. In one of my former, either to your Lordſhip, or ſomebodie to ſheu you, I told that a part of the armie would be about Dumbarton, but nou you would not relie on that; for, till I hear from Generall Gordon, I am uncertain if they hold that way. I have ſent your Lordſhip a copie of my new commiſſion, which perhaps you have not ſeen before. I have named the Generall Officers, and your Lordſhip has the rank of a Brigadeer of the Horſe. I am told Earle Wintoun has been very uſefull to our men we ſent over. I ſuppoſe he is now with your Lordſhip, and I beg you may make my compliments to his Lordſhip, and I hope the King will ſoon thank him himſelf. I will trouble your Lordſhip no further now; but all ſucceſs attend you, and may we ſoon have a merry meeting. I am, with all reſpect,

My Lord,

Your moſt obedient and moſt humble ſervant,

Mar.

From the Camp at Pearth, October 21ſt, 1715.

To Mr Forrester, Generall of the King's Forces in Northumberland.

Sir,—I wrote to you, of the ſeventeenth, from Auchterardice, which I hope you got. I marched the ſame night, the horſe to Dumblain, within four miles of Stirveling, and the foot, ſome miles ſhort of that place. Next morning, I had certain intelligence of the Duke of Argyle's returneing

[1] An Highland gentleman, who bade the Duke of Argyle defiance from the rampart of the Citadel at Leith.

from Edinbourgh, with moſt of the troopes he had carried there, and was on their marche towards Stirling. I alſo had accounts of Evans' regiment landing in the weſt of Scotland from Ireland, and [that they] were on their way to Stirveling. I had come away from Pearth before the proviſions were readie to goe with us, and I found all the countrie about Stirling, where we were to paſs Forth, was intirelie exhauſted by the enemy, ſo that there was nothing for us to ſubſiſt on there. I had no account from Generall Gordon, as I expected, and the ſooneſt I could expect him at the Heads of Forth was tuo days after that, and I could not think of paſſing Forth till I was joyn'd by him. Under thoſe difficulties, and haveing got one of the things I deſigned by my marche, the Duke of Argyle withdrawing from our friends in Lothien, I thought fit to marche back to Auchterardice, which was a better quarter, tho' not a good one neither. Next morning I got intelligence of the Duke of Argyle's being come to Stirling the night before, and that he had ſent expreſs upon expreſs to Evans' dragoons to haſten up. I had a letter alſo that morning from Generall Gordon, telling me that ſome things had keept him longer than he expected; that it would be that day e'er he could be at Inverary, and that he could not poſſiblie joyn me this week. Upon this I thought it better to return here, which is a good quarter, and waite his comeing up, and the Lord Seaforth's, than continue at Auchterardice, ſince it would not a bit retarde my paſſing the Forth when I could be in a condition to doe it, and in the mean time I could be getting proviſions to carrie alonge with me in my marche, which, as I have told, are abſolutlie neceſſarie about the Heads of Forth; ſo I come home laſt night. I very much regrate my being oblidged to this, for many reaſons, particularlie becauſe of its keeping me ſo much the longer from joyning you; but you eaſilie ſee it was not in my pouer to help it. However, I hope my ſtay here ſhall be very ſhort, and you may depend upon its being no longer than it neceſſarlie muſt. The paſſage over the Forth is now ſo extream difficult, that it's ſcarce poſſible to ſend any letters that way; and within theſe tuo days there was tuo boats comeing over with letters to me, and were ſo hard purſued that they were oblidged to throw the letters into the ſea; ſo that I know very little of our friends of that ſide, and leſs of you, which is no ſmall loſs to me. I heard to-day, by word of

mouth, that the detachement I ſent over are marched, and joyn'd our friends in the ſouth of Scotland, ſo I hope they may be uſefull; but I hope you know more of them than I doe. I have now write to Lord Kenmure, but it is ten to one if it comes to his hands. I know not what he is doeing where he is, or what way he intends to diſpoſe of his people; whether he is to marche into England, or towards Stirling, to waite my paſſing Forth; and in the ignorance I am of your affairs be-ſouth the river, I ſcarce know what to adviſe him. If you be in need of his aſſiſtance in England, I doubt not but you have called him there, but if not, certainlie his being in the rear of the enemie when I paſs Forth, or, now that the Duke of Argyle is reinforced, ſhould he marche towards me before I am, it would be of great ſervice; I am forced, in a great meaſure, to leave it to himſelf to doe as he finds moſt expedient. I am afraid the Duke of Ormond is not as yet come to England, elſe I ſhould have the certaintie of it, one way or other, before now. I cannot conceive what detains him, nor the King, from comeing here. Houever, I am ſure it is none of their fault; and I hope they will both ſurpriſe us agreeablie very ſoon. I believe I told you, in my laſt, of the Lord Strathmore and tuo hundred of the detachement that was goeing over Forth, and drove in to the Iſland of May by three men-of-war, being got ſafe aſhore on this ſide, and are now joyn'd us again; there were but tuo of all the boats takne, and I hear ſome of the men that were in them [who] were made priſoners in Leith, were relieved by our men when they came there, but that their officers were ſent to Edinbourgh Caſtle; ſo I want ſome repriſalls for them, which I hope to have e'er longe. Tho' Mackintoſh Brigadeer's miſtake, in goeing to Leith, was like to be unluckie to us and them, yet it has given the Duke of Argyle no little trouble, and our marche oblidgeing him to let them ſlip, has, I'm apt to believe, vext him. I beg you will find ſome way to let me hear from you. Ever ſince my detachement were in Fife, all the men-of-war that cruiſed on the north coaſt, betuixt Peterhead and the Frith, have been in the Frith, and I believe will continue there, to prevent my ſending more over that way; ſo that all that coaſt is clear, which, I wiſh to God, the King knew, and you may eaſilie ſend a boat here, anywhere, with letters from England. I hear there is one of

the regiments of foot come from Ireland to Stirling. When you write to me, if by ſea, pray ſend me ſome newſpapers, that I may know what the world is adoeing, for we know little of it here theſe eight days. Succeſs attend you; and I am, with all truth and eſteem,

SIR,

Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

MAR.[1]

From the Camp at Pearth, October 21ſt, 1715.

In the beginning of his letter to Kenmure he complains firſt of Mackintoſh makeing a miſtake, without telling what he ought to have done; and yet he is angrie with himſelf, with that ſhort, "cannot but ſay tho'," that it was odd he ſent no orders or intelligence to Mackintoſh, and, without determining anything, lays the blame on both, fixes on nothing. For all he could have told Mackintoſh was, that one who was Viſcount of Kenmure was ſkulking at that time in the hills and by-corners, and that there were about fourtie others in the ſame condition; and all Kenmure could know of Mackintoſh was, that Mar, to get him and the other fourtie to leave their homes, and take armes, had promiſed to ſend over a detachement to them, but how he was to doe it, did not know himſelf, as appears by his reaſoning, and method of ſending them, onlie a feu days before they went over; nor does he tell him, he had ſent one before to advertiſe him of their coming, for that he would not [have] omitted, who was ſo far from thinking of a command, that he was takne up in hideing; and how he could expect Kenmure could give orders to a Brigadeer, commanding a thouſand men, in that ſtate he was in, I can't tell, ſince, in this letter, dated eight days after the paſſage, he tells him, for neus, that he had given his Lordſhip the rank of a Brigadeer of the Horſe. Then he onlie hopes, after accuſeing,

[1] The criticism which the Master of Sinclair makes on Mar's Despatches is severely satirical, but, it must be owned, can scarce put a more unfavourable countenance on the vacillating and uncertain movements of Mar than we are apt to gather from his own letters, in which he appears totally uncertain as to the movements of the enemy and of his own confederates, and by no means decided upon his own.

that the partie of men with Mackintoſh will be of great uſe to him and the cauſe. It was no leſs eaſie for Mar to hope without ſending over any, and, with better reaſon, might have hoped that they nor the cauſe had not wanted them, ſince he ſent them with no view, as he ſoon after plainlie owns, by ſaying, "I know ſo little of the ſituation of your affairs that I muſt leave to yourſelf what is fit for you to doe, as will moſt conduce for the ſervice;" and, in a manner, regrates the neceſſitie of leaveing it to him, by ſaying he muſt, which his imperious nature would not allow him to doe if he knew how to doe otherwiſe; eſpeciallie ſince, next ſentence, he ſuppoſes Kenmure as ignorant as himſelf, or rather is poſitive of it, by knowing "he'll take good advice," and does not tell him whoſe advice he is to take; nor will he have him truſt to himſelf, and leaves it there. Can there be any thing on earth ſo looſe, or is it to be thought that, if Kenmure had aſkt them, he had not told his reaſons for doeing ſo, and what he was to make of them, which is to be thought was concerted and reſolved on before they run that great riſque in the paſſage, or before they went to a place where neither he who ſent them, nor he who was to receave them, knouing how to diſpoſe of them, they muſt be intirelie loſt to us.

The reſt of his letter is frivolous, and has no meaning, but the paying his court to the gentlemen there, and particularlie Brigadeer Mackintoſh, who he diſtinguiſhes by giveing him the firſt place, except where he forbids my Lord Kenmure to relie on Generall Gordon's being with the Clans at Dumbarton, who he himſelf had order'd to take another route, but is not frank enough to own it here, for he took ſpeciale care to change that project before it could come to the execution.

He introduces himſelf to Generall Forreſter in this of the 21, by telling him he had ſent him one of the ſeventeenth, which, by Viſcount Kenmure's letter is the ſame with this, which ſheus it to be his laſt orders, after ſome days due reflection. He tells him that the horſe marched to Dumblain, within four miles of Stirling; but does not tell him how far he keept aloof from it with the foot; he amuſes him with the earlie intelligence he had of the Duke of Argyle's returning, and Evans' regiment's being on it's marche to Stirling; informes him of his want of proviſions alonge with him, without letting him know it was his own fault; for, tho'

he might not have foreſeen the ſuddain marche on Mackintoſh[es] account, yet he foreſaw Huntlie's comeing to joyn us, on whoſe comeing he had always promiſed to marche, and by the ſevere reflections he and his partizans made againſt Huntley for his not comeing ſooner, and, for that very reaſon, of retardeing our march, he can't complain he did not give him time enough to provide. His ſaying he "found the countrie about Stirling, where we were to paſs Forth, was intirelie exhauſted by the ennemie, ſo that there was nothing for us to ſubſiſt on there," is onlie one of his Lordſhip's oun ſhifts, and, in plain Scots, a damned lye, for there was great plentie of corn and fourage everie where, and particularlie at Dumblain, which was all he had to expect there. Certainlie his Lordſhip, who has got ſuch a trick of hopeing when he is at a loſs, did not hope the ennemie would lay magazins of meale in his way, nor had we ever hopes of fourage or any other thing in that barren countrie where we were to paſs Forth, or the Heads of Forth, which he ſpeaks of a little after, and does not here diſtinguiſh from the countrie about Stirling; nor does he tell that Generall Hamilton undertook to make up all theſe wants, yea, convinced himſelf it was to be done. "He had no accounts from Generall Gordon, as he expected, and the ſooneſt he could expect him at the Heads of Forth was tuo days after that;" he means tuo days after that night we were at Dumblain, which was no longe time for us to waite. It's wonderfull his Lordſhip did not make that excuſe in his Councill of War; but he inſtantlie gives the true one, "that he could not think of paſſing Forth till joyned by him." If in ſuch intire want of fourage and proviſions, it's odd how he could think of it at all, and needed not given this laſt; but truth will break out in ſpite of the divill; nor could he think of paſſing a longe time after, when he was joyned by Gordon and the Clans, and Lochiell and Apine, tuo Clans more. Under thoſe difficulties, the want of fourage and proviſions, and which was the trueſt and greateſt of all, the want of heart, the firſt was in ſome meaſure true, and occaſion'd by himſelf, and the other naturall, and would always ſubſiſt. As to what he ſays of that one thing deſigned by his marche, the whole Councill of War ſaw he did not deſſigne marching at all. "Auchterardice was a better quarter than Dumblain," ſo did his Lordſhip think Arduch was, when he halted there,

and either was better than a poſt at the end of the longe cauſey of Stirling, but yet none ſo good a quarter as Pearth, which was ſtill further from the ennemie. "The expreſs upon expreſs for Evans' regiment" was but a bad ſigne, as if the Duke of Argyle deſigned attacking him. He ſeems to juſtifie his returne by this, and a later information from General Gordon, by his being delayed longer then he thought, which, if true, Gordon himſelf did not expect; and by ſaying Gordon could not joyn him that week, ſheus clearlie that Mar alter'd his whole plan at that time, or rather before, ſince the Clans were no more to come by Dumbarton, or doun the other ſide of Forth, which was a great third of his marche out of his way, ſince he was to joyn him ſo ſoon. He muſt have ſent him a contrarie order before he left Pearth, without Generall Hamilton or any body's knouledge; for he could not, in three days' time, had ane anſuer of any expreſs ſent to Gordon, who was to be next day at Inverara, and if ſo, Generall Hamilton founded very wronge in ſuppoſeing the Clans to be at Dumbarton, or ſo much as to come by it; which his Lordſhip had no mind to tell him, and keept him in ignorance of, as he inclines to doe to Kenmure in his letter, to whom it was very materiell to know the certaintie of their motion. But Mr Forreſter is a ſtranger to the whole ſtorie, and there was no harm in being free with him. "He returns to his quarter at Pearth to waite Gordon's comeing up, and the Lord Seaforth's." Being no more ſatiffied to marche on the Clans joyning, which he is afraid will be too ſoon, he takes up, all of a ſuddain, the pretext of waiteing on Lord Seaforth, to ſpin out the time; might he not [have] ſaid ſo at firſt, when he could not think of paſſing Forth till the Clans had joyned. "In the mean time he was to get proviſions readie, which, as he was told, were abſolutlie neceſſarie." It was very much for his Lordſhip's purpoſe that Mr Forreſter ſhould think ſo, and that he was neceſſitated at that time to returne for want of proviſions, tho' very wonderfull that his Lordſhip had not foreſeen it, and yet more, that he never rectified that want, nor provided againſt it: But after the Clans joyning, and all that longe ſtay for Seaforth, did not we again marche without proviſions; which, tho' he had not own'd in his printed account of his battle, all mankind ſaw; and then, indeed, we were in a worſe ſituation, for the ennemie by that time had takne care not to leave

us ſtraw, where both ſtraw and corn were in plentie before. So he came home, regrates his being oblidged to it, for many reaſons, particularlie the not haveing the pleaſure of ſeeing Mr Forreſter, and ſuppoſes he had perſuaded him it was not in his pouer to help it; no great difficultie, to give one what reaſons he pleaſed, who knew nothing of the leaſt fact or circumſtance he told him. He hopes again, that his ſtay wont be longe; his hopes are never to be underſtood otherwiſe but that he knows, or fears the contrarie of what he hopes; wittneſs in his letter to Kenmure, where he hopes he'll find a ſafe way of ſending over letters, and yet, in this to Forreſter, the paſſage of the Forth is extream difficult, and ſcarce poſſible. He had heard our detachement had joyned our friends in the ſouth, ſo he hopes they may be uſefull, and the very next ſentence, hopes he knous more of them than he does himſelf; which, if there be any underſtanding his dialect without a dictionarie of his oun makeing, is to be interpreted by reconcileing one part of his letters to the other, and giveing it the genuine meaning, that he fears they wont be uſefull, and fears Forreſter knous no more about them, or how to diſpoſe of them, than he; which is very naturall, haveing changed his own plan, by giveing the Clans another route. But it's hard neither Mar, Kenmure, nor Forreſter did, after running ſo great a riſque in paſſing, and, in the ignorance he is in, he ſcarce knous how to adviſe them, nor does he ſo much as know where they are, or where they deſſigne to goe. Ther's nothing ſurer than that they were a dead weight upon him while with him, and knew as little, or rather leſs, what to doe with them before he ſent them over; for how could he otherwiſe have imbarkt them in that uncertainty that he ſo often confeſſes? "Whether he is to marche into England, or towards Stirling, to waite my paſſing the Forth." He tells Kenmure, in his letter, in which this is encloſed, that he is not to rely on the ſupport of the Clans at Dumbarton; and has alreadie told Forreſter, indirectlie, that they are to joyn him directlie, and that the paſſage of the Forth depends on other circumſtances, which, tho' in the main very uncertain, yet he knew was of a very diſtant view; and how Kenmure could be ſuppoſed to goe toward Stirling, to waite, as if at his eaſe, his Lordſhip of Mar's paſſage, could enter in no man's head but Mar's. Then he gives Kenmure and the Scots a ſhy

recommendation to Generall Forreſter, if he needs them. He muſt have been in very extraordinarie circumſtances not to need them, eſpeciallie ſince they'd fall on ways to maintain themſelves, without putting Mr Forreſter to charge; or Mar muſt have ſuppoſed the Engliſh were not to take arms, and, in that caſe, we have been often told a thouſand or tuelve hundred men were too few to conquer England.

But, if not, and that the Generall Forreſter will not receive them, for fear his cattle ſhould turn a drug, he tells him he knows a uſe for them, and aſſumes the air of the Generall, and when he can doe no better with them, determines, poſitivelie, that they'l certainlie be uſefull to him in the rear of the enemie when he paſſes the Forth, nou that the Duke of Argyle is reinforced before I am. If he means they'll certainlie be uſefull at the paſſage of the Forth, and onlie then, which was never to happen, it's the ſame as if he ſaid, Certainlie they never would be uſefull or ſerviceable. To pleaſe his Lordſhip, let us marche Kenmure up to the rear of the Duke of Argyle, (ſince that unluckie gentleman was to command,) for that's a way of ſpeaking that ſmells of the Generall, and takes with folkes extreamlie, could Mar think that my Lord Kenmure with the hundred horſe, joyning Mackintoſh, could make him forget the ſcurvie trick the Duke of Argyle had like to play'd him, by ſtreaching out his arm the length of Leith, no leſs then tuentie miles from him? and which made it the more intolerable, that it was all of a ſuddain, without giveing him or Mar timely notice. It's to be thought the reflecting on that would have taught my Lord Mar it was not convenient, being much nearer the ennemie, ſince there was no place comparable to the Citadell of Leith betuixt that and Stirling; and if he could not ſtand him then in that poſt, at tuentie miles diſtance, with that ſmall detachement he could ſpare from his great bodie, how can he goe full butt up to his rear when he is reinforced with a regiment of dragoons, and another of foot, which he ouns in this letter, and when the Clans are not to goe to the other ſide Forth, and be a check to him? But, ſays his Lordſhip of Mar's friends, when the armie from Pearth marched up to the front of the ennemie, what was to hinder Kenmure to attack their rear? That's a rare chimere, as if it were poſſible for people at ſuch a diſtance,

and labouring under ſuch invincible difficulties of keeping correſpondence, to attack the Duke of Argyle both in the ſame minute; and without that, it was not to be done, for a feu minutes would determin'd the fate of a ſmall command, compoſed of ſuch troopes, if ever caught within reach, in Raſe Campagne. That the difficultie of correſpondence was ſo great, appears through both the letters. Can it be ſaid, that by owning this difficultie, he does not make his onlie certaintie, or the onlie thing he is poſitive of, a very great uncertaintie, and that he does not contradickt himſelf materiallie. He is forced, in a great meaſure, to leave it to Kenmure to doe as he thinks moſt expedient. Could any indifferent man, who had been ane intire ſtranger as well to our circumſtances as to theirs, have wrote a more idle letter on ſuch ane occaſion? He knous nothing of them; Kenmure knous nothing of them; Mr Forreſter he is not ſure will receave them. Could he have ſent over as many Highland bullocks on leſs grounds? I queſtion, if they had been his own, if he'd done it on ſo little, without any expectation of a market; but now that he finds he has miſt his market, or rather, that there never was anie, he is forced to leave them to Kenmure, either to graze them or ſell them, who he ſtill ſuppoſes no good market-man, and directs him to take good advice. He ſeems very keen about repriſealls for the officers that were takne, and he hopes he'll have ere longe; no good omen for them at that time, and no ſmall certaintie of their being hanged. Is delighted with the trouble and vexation given to the Duke of Argyle; but ſays nothing of the faces he made in reading Mackintoſh[es] letters to us in our meeting; and, in end, bams Mr Forreſter with the King's comeing, when he knew nothing of the matter himſelf.

No man can paint Mar ſo naturallie and ſo crooked as he does himſelf in theſe tuo letters, tho' it will be hard to find out either the Generall or the Secretarie of State in them. I am worſe pleaſed with his mother then ever; ſhe muſt have been a horrid woman, and never ſent ſo hopefull a youth to ſchoole, ſince, by all the advantages he has had by being a Miniſter, it has not been in his pouer to acquire a better ſtile, to put, at leaſt, ſome fairer face on his lyes and knaveries. Surelie his militarie gouvernour, Clephan, and ſecretarie Paterſone, had they ſet their heads together, could have made more of it than this; and what did we maintain thoſe for? But it's a

ſafe, and a good maxim, to have more penſioners than ſecretaries or people in truſt; the laſt might doe miſchief, and the others, if they can't be ſerviceable, have it not in their pouer to doe harm; and, by that rule, it would been too much for any one man to known one third of the affair. Hou unwillinglie does he wringe out ſome ſmall part of the truth, and gives it a falſe colour, or cloudes it intirelie, either before or after he has told it, and to thoſe to whome it was ſo much the intereſt of the cauſe he ſhould ſpeak plain, that, ſince he could not judge himſelf of their ſituation, he ought, at leaſt, to tell them what he knew of ours, to open their vieus; but, ſo far to the contrarie, leaves them, as much as he can, to grope in the dark, huddles all up from them, and onlie tells them hou much he is at a loſs hou to direct them; and, by his way of writeing to them, and of them, ſuppoſes not one man of the whole capable of conſulting with, otherwiſe he'd recommended ſome of them to Kenmure, who, he ſeems to know, wanted good advice, for he muſt know beſt what men he ſent him. Theſe confuſed hints occaſioning their leaders greater confuſion, no wonder if, by ſhewing themſelves ſo irreſolute and undetermined in their marches, the common fellous were ſoon infected, and that, with want of pay, made three hundred of their beſt men leave them at one time. It's, I think, prittie maniefeſt, by everie ſentence of Mar's oun letters, that this was all done without the leaſt fixt deſigne he had of employeing them before he ſent them, ſince, after they had been ſome time over, he was ſo much to ſeek; but to a ſhip that deſignes to no port, all winds are the ſame. As to the condition he ſent them over in, he had no ſhaddow of reaſon to promiſe himſelf ſervice from thoſe ſo badlie armed, and without pouder, and under the command of one who had no pretenſions to know any thing of ſervice, I mean his Brigadeer Mackintoſh, who the world had no better opinion of at that time than they have at preſent, and who had nothing to recommend him but that his Chief, the Laird of Mackintoſh, who all lookt on to be a very weak man, imagin'd him wiſer than himſelf, and delivered himſelf and Clan up to his diſpoſale; all which, if conſider'd, and that this Brigadeer had not credite for thirtie pounds in the countrie, (witneſs the ſtraites he was put to when Drummond ſent him Plenipo to France,) it will look odd

how ſo many Lords and Gentlemen truſted themſelves to him, or that Mar had the face to chooſe him for ſuch a command. One thing I remember was boldlie averr'd at Pearth, that tho' he carried out of Fife three thouſand pound with him for the payment of the troopes, he was not many days over when he wanted monie, tho' he had no extraordinarie charge, and, to my certain knouledge, gave nothing to the boats for the tranſport; all which was ſuſpected before, and gave thoſe who took the trouble to think but a very bad augur of ſucceſs. The ſeparateing of force is at all times very dangerous, and never to be done but on the ſolideſt of grounds. This ſeparation had every way bad conſequences; for by it tuo thouſand men were loſt to us. Of the tuentie-five hundred who were deſigned to paſs, eleven hundred got over, and a thouſand were ſo frightned with the terrour of the ſea and the expedition, that they deſerted to their hills. Thoſe who had undertakne to provide the boats, not haveing got time enough to doe it, Mar's impatience not allouing the leaſt delay; nor was Mackintoſh, by the methode he took of embarking, free from blame. But, to recapitulate what I have alreadie ſaid: Huntlie having joyned us, before they imbarkt, with fourteen hundred foot and a hundred and ſixtie horſe, which, with above four thouſand we had before, made us at leaſt betuixt the five and ſix thouſand foot, if not ſix thouſand good, and with ſeverall ſtraglers, who joyned us at that time, about ſix hundred horſe. The Duke of Argyle haveing got no reinforcement, and about fifteen hundred, one would have thought there was no further ceremonie to be uſed in paſſing the Forth in a bodie, the rivers being ſtill low, and before the Duke of Argyle's reinforcement joyned him. The Clans being then in Argyleſhire, or at leaſt higher then the ſource of Forth, had but to marche down the ſouth ſide of the river, keeping the ſtronge grounds, and poſted themſelves ſo as to favour our paſſage of the Fords, that his Grace of Argyle, who was even inferiour to them in number, would not adventur'd to attack them, conſidering his force lay in dragoons, who could not be ſerviceable to him in hills. And had his Lordſhip of Mar not opiniatred the Clans goeing in to Argyleſhire, on as little grounds as he did the paſſage of the Frith, the Clans, under Generall Gordon, had been at leaſt three thouſand men; for Lochiell and Apin would not joyn in the expedi-

tion againſt Argyleſhire, who are alloued to bring out a thouſand men, and thoſe who marched there were knoun to be tuo thouſand four hundred, allouing Captain Clanronnald, Glengarie, and Sir John Maclean, to bring each no more then ſeven hundred, beſides the three hundred of Bredalbine's, who went alonge with them. Can any thing be more evident, that if we had not detach'd over the Frith, we were ſo far from haveing reaſon to fear what Mar inſinuates in his letter, the Duke of Argyle's attacking us, that he could not, in all humane probabilitie, hindred our paſſage of the Forth, and muſt have decamped, except God Almightie had determined otherwiſe, or our great Generall, out of prepenced malice and couardice, I don't ſee what we had to hinder us; nor doe I think, after the rivers ſuelled, and the Duke of Argyle was reinforced, it was ever poſſible afterwards, to ſay nothing of our men's deſerting daylie, and our ſpirits laggeing, by ſeeing, more and more every day, into our oun confuſion, and the fallacie of Mar's promiſes.

Haveing now deliver'd theſe letters, with Mar's laſt orders, to Kenmure and Forreſter, and given the true ſtate of our affairs, I ſhall leave them to their oun good management, and return to Pearth, where the Marquiſe of Huntlie had joyned us the ninth of October, the very day after Mariſhall came to us. It was very obſervable, in his caſe, how the tongues of a great many honeſt, well meaning, men, can be turned looſe upon ane innocent man, without either their knoun-ing for what, or the man's deſerveing it, or, at leaſt, leſs then others who are more evidentlie guiltie of the ſame crime they pretend to accuſe him of, and, by any deſigneing man's puting a band, devoted to his intereſt, upon it, to begin the cry, the others take it up, run away with it without conſideration, before innocence is aware, or on its guarde, and often through that, innocent man ſtab themſelves to the heart, without its being poſſible to open their eyes while the heat laſtes, or till it's too late. Tho' my Lord Huntlie was at tuice the diſtance from us that Mariſhall was, and had about fourteen or fifteen hundred men to bring up, and tuo ſquadrons of horſe, a great many at fourtie miles diſtance from him, and ſpread in the hills, yet, from the beginning, there was nothing heard but complaints of Huntlie for not being there alreadie; and Mar, to my hearing, yea, everie

bodie, and I myſelf, without knouing him, ſaying the bittereſt things againſt him that our imaginations could frame, and all that for his not comeing ſooner; for a month before he came he was in the ſame caſe, and would no more be forgiven it than when he came: while Mariſhall, who was within half the diſtance to us, and brought not fourſcore horſemen to joyn us, was in the ſame fault, or rather a much greater, by his ſituation; and haveing ſo little to doe, was cry'd up to the ſkyes as the braveſt, forwardeſt, and moſt accompliſht gentleman on earth. The reaſon was plain, tho' what would have made another valued did Huntlie harm: Mar was affraid of Huntly's influence, being conſcious to himſelf of his oun littleneſs, and that Huntlie had given Mar a proof he had more credite with Mar's feu-vaſſalls then Mar had himſelf, by makeing one of them follow him, when all had refuſed; ſo could not bear the thoughts of his pouer being precarious, or depending on Huntley, ruined him earlie in the opinion of all thoſe in Pearth, and made way for carrieing off his oun vaſſalls from him, in caſe he ſheu'd the leaſt uneaſineſs at that bad treatment, and more, which he'd take care to give him, by conſtructing all ane averſion or diſlike to the cauſe; and, if a miſfortune happned, which he ſaw certain, prepare the whole to joyn with in loading Huntlie with all; and turn their rage againſt him and others, who he treated the ſame, for not depending intirelie on him, and chimeing with him in the deſtruction of their countrie, and, in the mean time, draw his own neck out of the collar. He, on the other hand, had no jealouſie of Mariſhall, who was younge, and had nothing to looſe; he lookt upon him as one who had the ſame intereſt in the affair with himſelf; and not of that extraordinarie influence neither, for of that ſmall number of horſe he brought up with him, all were independent gentlemen, and many had more to looſe than himſelf; and a great part were followers of Huntlie, who he engadged to goe alonge with him by letters from Mar, who had now got conſiderable credite by being the great man at Pearth; and by his own little tricks and traduceing of Huntlie, which no younge man can be more capable of, and fitted him to be ane admirable apprentice to Mar, and with that good diſpoſition, and his not being able to ſubſiſt himſelf, render'd him very fouple; for, except he had receaved the publick monie at Mar's diſcretion, and that

from the beginning, he could not ſtood his oun ground, far leſs had influence on others. They were not contented with what had been done to Huntlie before joyning; but ſoon made him and thoſe with him, the jeaſt of the armie. The truth is, he laid himſelf a little open to them who were ſo inclined to make uſe of everie thing againſt him, by bringing up a troop of fourtie or fiftie great lubbertlie fellous, in bonnets, without boots, or any ſuch thing, and ſcarce bridles, mounted on longe-tailed little horſes, leſs then the men, who were by much the greateſt animalls of the tuo, without piſtells, with great ruſtie muſquets, tyed on their backs with rope; and thoſe he called light horſe. I muſt oun, the groteſque figure thoſe made moved everie bodie's laughter, and ſoon got the other hundred and fixtie horſe he brought alonge with him the ſame name of light horſe, tho' they did not deſerve it more then thoſe who came with Mariſhall, who were almoſt all Galloways, as well as thoſe who came with Huntlie. Severalls of thoſe who came up with him, and did not intirelie depend on him, were, on the account of thoſe jeaſts, on the point of leaveing his ſquadrons, and joyning others, not being able to ſtand patientlie that generall reflection.

All thoſe things being improven to the advantage, by Mariſhall and Mar, he was not onlie diſcredited in the ſight of thoſe who, tho' not his dependents, had otherwiſe all the reſpect for him due to one of his weight and rank, but even in the ſight of his oun vaſſalls and tennants; tho' it's certaine at that time Huntley gave no occaſion for it, and declared he'd take no command, not ſo much as of his oun people, who he order'd to roule in dutie as others did; tho' it was not to be expected he could intirelie tranſſer his intereſt or followiug, and far leſs to thoſe who aim'd at makeing him ridiculous, and wreſting it from him. Houever, that was not enough, right or wronge he muſt be pinioned; it ſeems they thought no more meaſures needed be keept, when they attackt him by endeavouring to carrie off his Highland tennants, who are ſtill more ſubject to him then his vaſſalls. For Mariſhall, ſoon after Huntlie's being in Pearth, ſet about gaining the MacFierſons,[1] took occaſion of ſome difference betuixt Huntley

[1] A numerous Clan, who, inhabiting the Lordship of Badenoch, were Huntlie's vassals. Being a fierce, mutinous sort of people, they had many differences with their feudal Chiefs, who quartered Gordon of Glenbucket upon them to maintain his

and them about ſome private right, in which all ſaid Huntley did them no injuſtice; and gave them a very pleaſant reaſon for acknouledgeing him their leader and chief, by telling them, that the MacFierſons were the Clan Cattan of old, and his name being Keith, he was their true chief; tho' no bodie can prove by hiſtorie that ever Mariſhall's familie had a Highland followuing, but that was nothing; the whole being then unhinged, everie one drew to himſelf; and a ſtrain'd derivation was pretext enough to thoſe who had nothing but their oun intereſt to conſult; ſeeing all ruin'd, thought onlie of their oun honour, before they left the countrie, that at leaſt the name of the pouer they had might give them a greater luſter abroad. But this took with a very few of the MacFierſons, and onlie ſuch who were not regarded by that Clan; and, no ſooner Huntlie was told of it, then he quaſht it without the leaſt trouble to himſelf, or takeing any notice of it, and James Keith, Mariſhall's brother, [was] baulkt of the regiment of MacFierſons, which Mar deſigned him, who had folloued Huntley's anceſtours for many hundred years. I never thought of that claime Mariſhall hade to the MacFierſons, but it put me in mind of the etimologie of the word laquais, made by a French grammerien from the Latin Verna, rediculed by Boileau:—

"Laquais vienne de Verna sans doubte,
Mais il a bien changé sur la route."

Huntley not ſeeming to feel this, and a good dale more, which I have forgot, they ventur'd on putting further upon him, and once imploy'd myſelf as ane inſtrument. Amongſt thoſe horſe who folloued him, there were a great many gentlemen of the poorer ſorte, his feuers and vaſſalls, who reallie could not ſubſiſt themſelves and horses; he repreſented the thing to Mar, and deſir'd him to take it under his conſideration. Mar, in the mean time, by the advice, I ſuppoſe, of Thomas Bruce, for it was he who came to me, drew up a petition in the name of ſome gentlemen of my ſquadrone, without particulariſeing any, who, he pretended, could not ſubſiſt them-

rights. In doing so he incurred the displeasure of the Clan, and several of them attempted to assassinate him, and wounded him cruelly in the face with their dirks. He got to his sword, however, and beat them off, but carried the scars to his grave.—See Burt's Letters from the North of Scotland.

ſelves, deſireing onlie a groat each day, which they undertook to live on. Thomas Bruce brought it to me to ſigne, to make it more authentick, as the commanding officer; at firſt ſight I was chokt, and could not underſtand the meaning of it, and ſaid, I thank God there was none under my command in that neceſſitie, or in the leaſt deſired it. For if there were any in want, we took care to provide them without their aſking it, knouing one another's circumſtances very well; which was reallie true, for the gentlemen ſupplied the feu of that kind that we had, by taxeing themſelves and me privatelie, and tho' I have often deſired them not to ſpare me, I muſt doe them the juſtice to ſay they did it too much. Mr Bruce, ſeeing I did not jump at getting a little monie to diſpoſe of, for we could taken for ſeveralls, and given it to one, told me the true matter of fact, that Huntlie had been aſking for a number of his, and they did not knou but he might aſk exorbitantlie, and that they could not fall on another way to moderate his demands. I aſkt him, Had his Lordſhip fixt upon any ſettled day's pay? He ſaid, No; but they fear'd his makeing it high, and, in that caſe, we'd all blow up in a minute, and everie bodie would aſk, and there would be nothing left to pay the foot, and that there was nothing I could do ſo much for the ſervice. So I was tongue padded into ſigneing. Before Huntlie propoſed any thing, they put that paper into his hand; upon which his Lordſhip was pleaſed to ſpeak to me, and wondered at the impoſſibilitie of ſubſiſting man and horſe on a groat, eſpeciallie ſuch as were called gentlemen. Tho' this was amongſt the firſt times I had the honour of ſpeaking with his Lordſhip, who had been repreſented to me as ane unreaſonable man, whom nothing could ſatiffie, I was at a loſs what to ſay, but, on ſecond thoughts, told him, I took that to be meant for ſubſiſting their horſes. Upon this the demand fell, and Huntley ſubſiſted them out of his oun pocket for ſome time. All this while Mariſhall and his Liutenant-Collonell, and, in a word, all who were Mar's favourites, or who they recommended, were not getting pay onlie, but ſoums of monie, witneſs five hundred pound at one time to Mariſhall; and, while they were playing honeſt men againſt one another, they were carrauſing and running away with their ſpoile, when ſerviceable men were diſcouraged, and ſtarveing out of modeſtie. But thoſe who did not err on that ſide, were

not ſatiffied with what they got, but muſt let us know that we, who pay'd the taxes, and ſubſiſted ourſelves, were but little fellous and coxcombs.

To pleaſe Mariſhall, ſoon after he came to Pearth, another project was ſet on foot to give him ſome extraordinarie command, for what he brought with him did not diſtinguiſh him enough, ſo it was propoſed that tuo ſquadrons ſhould be pickt out of the ſeven, for that was now our number; Huntlie tuo, Mariſhall, Linlithgow, Rollo, Southeſque, and I, had each of us one. The one was to carrie the Royall ſtandard, and the other, a ſquadron of grenadeers, to marche on the front of the other. We were not longe of diſcovering both of them were to be given to Mariſhall, for he did not like his oun by no means; their horſes were not ſo good as thoſe of the more ſouthern counties. This was the old project in the beginning, in favour of Linlithgow, who was now to be kickt out, and ſooth'd, which they'd find no great difficultie in doeing, revived in favour of Mariſhall, but ſtill more impudent and groſſer; and to break all bands and ſocieties of friendſhip, or vaſſallage, ſuch as many of Huntley's were, and, by that jumble, make all depend on Mar and his favourites. Generall Hamilton propoſed it to me as a thing extreamlie uſefull, and would be handſome. I ſaid, I wonder'd at people's not contenting themſelves with their oun, nor could I ſee what pretence one had to aſk that of another; could any think that if I had choice men and horſes in my ſquadron, that I could imagine them any where better diſpoſed of than under my command, conſidering the officers we had, and if any ſelect number of men were to be called out, I thought I had the beſt right to command them. But that I had given my opinion of it, in the caſe of Linlithgow, and was content with what I had, and wiſht others would be ſo, for, they might depend on it they ſhould not get one man from me; and without doeing good to themſelves, might breed ill blood. Mariſhall was ſo modeſt as not to ſay one word, as I think he had reaſon; for a man muſt firſt be perſuaded of his oun inſufficiencie, and of the others ſuperioritie, before a point of that kind can be yeelded. But they thought they'd had us ſo longe in hands, that with cajoleing one, and banging the other with lying tongues, that we were now tame, and could be moulded into any ſhape they pleaſed. For my part, I can't get over it, that thoſe who were ſo buſie brigueing and ſapping,

came out on any other deſſigne but that of makeing themſelves fine gentlemen, and muſt have ſplit and ruin'd us, if we had been in better condition then we reallie were, beſides the dead weight they were upon us, by ſquandring of our monie. About the time of the paſſage of the Frith, the deſertion of the thouſand men from the ſea ſide, of thoſe who were deſigned to paſs, was not the onlie, for the hundred Mar men, under the command of Inderei, begun to doe the ſame at Pearth, and all deſerted; which, as Gordon of Abergeldie, a gentleman of that countrie, ſaid to me, was occaſion'd by Mar's vindictive reſentment againſt their Chief, Indercale, by not allouing them to joyn him, and thoſe of their Clan he brought with him; and, finding them gone over ſea, loſt heart to the cauſe; for, as he ſaid, tho' Inderei was married to his oun niece,[1] and was his friend, he was forced to oun they had no regarde for him, in reſpect of their Chief. This diſeaſe ſoon infected the others, like a plague, as it always happens, and a good many out of all corps and clans follou'd their exemple, being ſoon wearied.

Mr Malcome of Grange, at that time brought up my Lord Balcarres,[2] his old friend, who was reſolved to be very cautious, till Malcome aſſured him the game was ſure, and that it was not poſſible it could faile; I think one inſtance of the blackeſt ingratitude to a gentleman who was too old to doe us ſervice with his perſon, and was to have no ſhare of the conſulting part, and to one who had maintain'd him abroad for ſeverall years; but, to make ſome ſorte of reparation, he put my Lord Mar upon makeing his ſon a Captain in my ſquadron, and Malcome propoſed it to me. I was ſatiffied that Mar ſhould give him a commiſſion, but that he could not get a companie; becauſe, by former orders, all the ſquadrons in Pearth were divided into three companies, and we had choſen officers for them alreadie. He ſaide, Mine might admit of four, as well as the others of three, ſince it was the ſtrongeſt there. I ſaid, I did not ſee the need of that; and another

[1] John Farquharson of Inverey, was married to Margaret Gordon, daughter of Gordon of Abergeldie.

[2] Colin, third Earl of Balcarres, a staunch Jacobite, and author of "A Letter on the Affairs of Scotland at and succeeding the Revolution," which is often quoted. Though now an old man, he was imprudent enough to join the Insurgents, and only escaped by the friendship and patronage of the Duke of Marlborough.

companie requir'd ſo many more officers, and that would weakne us of ſo many dutie men; for at that time we were haraſſed enough with guards, and pickets, and other commands. He took me up ſhort, and told, If I would not, I'd ſee him carrie off the greateſt part of my ſquadron. I anſuer'd him, He was ane impertinent lying brute, and always medleing in what was not his buſieneſs; and, ſince he ſaid ſo, that gentleman ſhould not have a troop in my ſquadron, tho' I had as great a value for him as Malcome could have; and I did not believe that Mar, and he, and all the emiſſaries put together, had influence to doe me harm with thoſe gentlemen I commanded; for, if they did not think it as much their honour to be under my command as I could think it mine to command them, they might chooſe whom they pleaſ'd; but if I did, I'd turn out Malcome out of my ſquadrone, and all his ſcabbie name. I thought I had ſaid enough, but ſome others preſent of my friends ſaid a good dale more to him; nevertheleſs he went of brigueing underhand to try pulſes; but, finding it impracticable, had recourſe to Mar, and told what I ſaid, makeing a griveous complaint. Mar ſent to me, and aſkt me, Why I would not complie with giveing Mr Lindſay a companie? I gave him the ſame reaſons I had done before to Malcome. He preſſed me, not with the air of a Generall, but ſtill with ane affectation of authoritie. I refuſed abſolutelie, and ſaid, Becauſe he had ſent that fool Malcome to me with ſuch a meſſage, who durſt not ſpoke ſo without his Lordſhip's ſupport or orders, and that I had ſaid, it ſhould be put to the tryell. Mar ſaid, Malcome had done the King more ſervice than any man in Pearth. I anſuer'd, I could not conceave what ſervice he was capable of but lying, and if that was ſervice, he had done enough of it, nor would I allow any bodie to meddle more in my affairs than they did with others; and I left him.

Sometime after, my Lord Balcarres ſpoke to me, and blamed Malcome, and I did it, but not before I had convinced Mar that it was not to be done without my allouance, or till I thought fit. Major Balfour, not anſuering their expectation, in being made a handell againſt me, they thought proper to make uſe of ſome other, and try what influence their detraction had, and how much ground they had gained upon me, which did not ſucceed to their mind.

We were not long returned to Pearth from Dumblain when another expedition to Fife was ſet on foot; but how to find one to command was the difficultie, for they had no choice, except they had takne Collonell Urchard. But he was ane officer, and had ſerved his whole life in regular ſervice, and might acquit himſelf no better then I had done, by keeping order which intimidated gentlemen, who were never to be improved for that reaſon, or ever alloued to think they were to doe any thing more then goeing in a confuſed bodie from one toun to another to take their diverſion. Their buſineſs was to levie the ceſs of Dumfermling, a Whiggiſh toun; and neither that toun or the countrie about, which was nearer the ennemie, would pay, being ſupported by the ennemie. Generall Hamilton made the diſpoſition. The firſt day's marche was to Kinroſs, a place where we'd alreadie had ſeverall commands, which had gone quite different routes, ſo that gave him reaſon to think the Duke of Argyle would not be alarmed with the firſt days' marche. From that they were to marche in the night, or very earlie before day; the furtheſt places they deſigned to goe to not being above eight miles from that, ſo that their buſieneſs would be a-doeing or done before the Duke of Argyle could be adverticed, and they, in their marche to Bruntiſland, a place of ſafetie, or in their marche home, when he'd think no more of them; and muſt have done their work better either by getting hoſtages or cattle in place of the ceſs, by ſurpriſeing thoſe who refuſed to pay.

This diſpoſition did not pleaſe Mar, who had a ſtrong inclination, when in his warm ſnug room at Pearth, to doe very bold things; who, if he had been as bold in the field as he was at home, and weighed everie thing as cautiouſlie at home as he did in the field, and at a diſtance as he did when preſent, might have come nearer to the caracter of the great Generall he ſo much affected. So, without the leaſt regarde to Generall Hamilton's diſpoſition, he and Thomas Bruce, ſon to my Lord Kincardine, contrived a diſpoſition of their own. This gentleman was formerlie Muſter-Comiſſarie in King William and Queen Anna's reignes, and at this time no ſmall favourite of Mar's. Being uſed to buſieneſs, he had more intrigue and addreſs than moſt of our folks, ſupported with a plauſible way of ſpeakeing; and knouing Mar, with whome he had been longe acquainted,

and who on other occaſions had imploy'd him, not capable of bearing controule, or ſo much as to be argued with in any thing he propoſed, Mr Bruce, not being to riſque his own life at any time, did not onlie aſſent in everie thing to Mar, but would rather outdoe him, and carrie it further; which he did, till the affair turned ſerious; for he gallopt off that morning of our battle of Dumblain, ſome hours before we marched to the ennemie, and never was heard of till he appear'd in Bruſſells ſome months after all was over. And tho' he was one of thoſe who was moſt inſtrumentall, and imploy'd to engage everie bodie, he had propoſed to himſelf to run no riſque, and by being the firſt man who ſued for a pardon, a certaintie of getting it; which he did the day after he got home, which was the day followig our battle; but Mar and he being ſo very well acquainted, while he ſtay'd, he got the better of all his favourites. Hamilton's advice in the matter was onlie takne to convince him, and all thoſe who pretended to any ſorte of rule, that they were fools, and that tuo men could be found who laught at all rule; and, if they ſucceeded, which might have happned for once, tho' they muſt have pay'd it dear ſooner or later, they pleaſed themſelves with carrieing the vogue, eſpeciallie Mar, to whome that honour was to redound, by compareing his diſpoſition with Hamilton's, and that the ſucceſs and boldneſs of his would ſoon get him the generall approbation: for Hamilton had been of late uneaſie to him, by propoſeing things that did not agree with his Lordſhip of Mar's conſtitution, and he'd let him and the world ſee that on other occaſions he was capable of doeing as bold things as he could pretend to, without him, or any of that kidney.

Thomas Grahame, who had acquired the title of Major, in the hills, under my Lord Dundee, in the ſame manner as moſt of our commiſſions were given of late for want of officers, was named to command fourſcore horſe, and three hundred Highland foot; they were order'd to march to Dumfermling, which is fourteen miles from Pearth, but not to goe the direct road, for they were to marche by Dinnen, to paſs under the noſe of the Duke of Argyle's guarniſone at Caſtell Campbell, ſix ſhort miles from Stireling, where he had put ſome countrie militia; and, after makeing ſo great a detour to inſult them, by marcheing in their ſight, Major Graham was, with his command, to return to Dumfermling, where he was to raiſe

the ceſs, and from that to detache nine horſe to Culros, and ſome ſuch number to Saline, towards Stirling; and all this detailé by Mar and Thomas Bruce direction, who, if they did not know that countrie about their own houſes, knew nothing. The gentleman who was to command the nine horſe to Culroſs was Beatſone of Killrie, one of my friends; had he gone, he ſaid himſelf, with thrice that number, Black John Erſkine, who was lying in waite, would have pay'd him the ceſs in a coine which would not been of great uſe to us, haveing tuo hundred armed men, all Cameronians, readie to receave him, which we all knew. Gordon of Glenbucket, who commanded the three hundred foot, tho' a Collonell, was to be under Major Grahame's command; and James Malcome, without whome nothing was to be done, was ſent alonge to mannage the whole, haveing been a warriour at Gillicrankie.

They no ſooner came to Dumfermling then all the gentlemen of the horſe ſeperated into alehouſes and taverns, and after[wards] moſt went to bed. Glenbucket put the foot into the Abbey, a place ſtronglie ſituated, and took up his oun quarters in the toun, and placed a ſentrie at his door. Major Grahame placed one ſentrie at a bridge, a little without that end of the toun which leads to Stirling; for, as we had ſuppoſed when at Dumblain, the ennemie would come no other way but the ſtreight road. Major Grahame and James Malcome ſet themſelves doun to take a heartie bottle: when it was turning late, Gordon of Buckie, a kinſman of Huntley's, Seaton of Lathrie, and Beatſone of Killrie, who had more thought and judgment than the others, went and found out Major Grahame, and told, by all they had heard or could judge, it would be proper to put out more ſentries, and take ſome other precautions. He anſuer'd them, Mr Malcome and his nephew Robert, who were preſent, knew the countrie better then either they or he did, and had aſſured him there was no danger; he drunk on, and they returned.

All this while, Collonell Cathcart[1] was lying without the toun, with tuo hundred dragoons, and had his ſpies goeing out and in, giveing him exact information of everie thing, and, finding all to his wiſh, diſmounted ſome dragoons, and ſent them into the toun one way, and a captain

[1] The Honourable Charles Cathcart, afterwards eighth Lord Cathcart.

with [blank in MS.] on horſeback another way. They killed the poor ſolitarie horſe ſentrie on the bridge, after diſchargeing his piſtolls; and, in a word, were in the middle of the toun before anie bodie knew of them; killed Forbes, a captain of the Highland foot, who fired both his ſide-piſtolls and drew his ſuord amongſt the middle of them; did the ſame by Glenbucket's ſentrie, who did his dutie, and fired. They took eighteen gentlemen priſoners, of thoſe who were moſt alerte and run out to the ſtreets, and very luckie their loſs was not greater. The foot in the Abbey were ſurpriſed at the alarme, and keept within, not doubting that the number of the ennemie was greater in toun than they reallie were, and expected to be attackt themſelves, which never failes to happen in the dark, except the diſpoſition of the troopes be good, and everie thing well concerted; and confuſion will happen ſometimes even amongſt regular troopes, let the moſt vigilant officer doe his beſt; but to imagine a ſentrie can give timeous warning to thoſe who are ſtript and in bed, or ſpread in different corners of a toun, is not to have common ſenſe, or to think that the deſigne of a ſentrie can be any other but that of alarmeing a guard lying on their arms. So far of the ſtorie all agreed to.

No wonder if, after this ruffle, everie one run a different way; ſome left their horſes ſticking in dunghills, in the ſtreets; and others, when their horſes fell in anie narrow lane, with juſtling, or makeing too great haſt to get away, left them on the ſpot, and came to Pearth on countrie horſes, and ſaid they had their horſes ſhot under them; others run to Bruntiſland, ſome to different places of the countrie, ſome got under beds, others up to garrets, and moſt of this when the ennemie was gone; who, knowing of the Highlandmen's being in the Abbey, did not ſtay to dalley in toun, and beat their retreat very quicklie after their comeing in, for they ſeiſed nobodie in houſes. The foot had no longer patience there, and went off in order, next day, to Bruntiſland. I was ſtanding by Mar when all this was told him; and, hearing him ſay, That it was a ſhame to ſee ſo many run away from tuo hundred of the ennemie; I ſaid, without heſitation, It was what I expected, and had often foretold; and I could not ſee any reaſon to be ſurpriſed at it, for I never had been one night out with them that the fourth part of their number could not have cut all their throats,

without looſeing one man, becauſe of their oun diſorder. His Lordſhip turned upon me with a ſpitefull air, and, giveing his head a toſs, ſaid, I hope not, Mr Sinclair; and run out of the circle, in great dudgeon, into his room, and called me into him.[1] He ſaid, He wonder'd to ſee me take ſo much pains to diſcourage our folks. I anſuer'd, What I had ſaid did not tend to diſcourage, but to ſhew them where their fault lay; that I had foretold this many a time when with them, and had been traduced for it, as it had been a crime. Being at a loſs, as he often is, when in paſſion, he had the impudence to ſay, I never had been with them. I beg'd his pardon, and ſaid, No other had but I; and would he have them taught onlie by their dear bought experience, and haveing their throats cut? and then have the pleaſure of blameing them, and reflecting on them; for my part, I told him I did not underſtand him. He ſaid, That was imprudent. I ſaid, It might be what he pleaſed, but I took it to be my dutie, and would continue to doe ſo; and with that I left him, not one bit better pleaſed with the Generall than he was with me; but what galled him moſt was, my telling what paſt to the croud in the next room. I did not know at this time that the whole was his Lordſhip's oun ingenuitie that this was oweing to, and that he was baulkt of his great expectation, a favourable article in a Gazet, which, of all things, he coveted; and that clear demonſtration he wanted to give us, at Pearth, of his addreſs and courage, by ſhewing, from Generall Hamilton dounwards, all amongſt us who had ſerved were ſcoundrells, and knew nothing; which, by humouring the diſorderlie way that ſo much pleaſ'd the gentlemen, he thought was no difficult matter, if he had once got ſafe thorough with it. He was the more vext at the miſfortune, that he knew I had foretold it ſo often; which was one of the great crimes he and his favourites had to lay to my charge, and would eſtabliſh my credite, and make thoſe concern'd with us give more attention to what I ſaid at any other time; and, at ſame time, reflect upon him for the choice of ſuch a commanding officer, who could have nobodie's approbation but Linlithgow's, who I heard take upon him to ſay, that Major Grahame was one of the beſt horſe officers in Europe,

[1] It is easy to see that the language held by the Master was more used to spite Mar than to serve the cause in which both were engaged.

tho' the poor man had never ſerved but in King Jameſes armie before the Revolution, and ſome ſmall time a guarde-de-corp in France.

When Major Grahame came back he was very well receaved by Mar, who was never to be found in a fault, and was not to diſaprove of his oun choice. He pretended to lay the blame on the gentlemen, who, he ſaid, refuſed goeing into the Abbey; they all agreed he never order'd them. I am apt to believe the fault was of both ſides. But the Major, finding himſelf not obey'd, ought to have given good exemple, and gone into the Abbey himſelf, with his horſes, ſince the greateſt part of his command was there, and, in that caſe, he'd had more to [have] ſaid for himſelf. Certain it is, that one Chamers, a Scots Dutch Enſigne, who was their Quartermaſter, deſigned the Abbey for them, and there was cover ſufficient both for the gentlemen and their horſes, and the Highlandmen. But was it to be thought that a commander of that kind durſt hazard Mar's diſpleaſure, or the loſs of his friendſhip, and gain a bad caracter by it, ſuppoſeing he had knoun better; when, on the other hand, he loſt but a feu gentlemen by doeing a thing which looked bold; and no great matter, if he had Mar's protection, what others could ſay or doe. Another great overſight he committed, was not haveing the leaſt guarde, either in any place of the toun, or in the toun-houſe, which was ſtill the more neceſſarie, ſince his whole command was not in the Abbey. Had he takne both theſe neceſſarie precautions, the dragoons had paſſed their time but badlie, or rather, would never enter'd the toun; nor could he ever anſuer what Gordon of Buckie, Lathrice, and Killrie, told him, when over his bottle. Houever it was, I'm ſure that in any other ſervice he had been hanged. Mar had his whim, as it was juſt; and the worſt of it was, but thoſe who were taken being hanged in ane attempt to force a caracter to Mar, that he might, at his convenience, and with his eaſe, diſpoſe of the whole the ſame way. Moſt of other Generalls doe their militarie executions with ſmall parties, Mar was to doe his with ſound of trumpet, and, as it were, ane invitation to hinder him, and challenge the ennemie to attack our command in their beds; for the Duke of Argyle being informed, in a very little time after their paſſing by Caſtell Cambell, ſent out the dragoons to obſerve them.

The very night which this happned, I ſupped at Generall Hamilton's

lodgeing, with him, my Lord Balcarres, and his ſon, Mr Lindſey, and about one of the clock in the morning, the diſcourſe roulceing on out commands, I ſaid, I knew our gentlemen's way of doeing, and I was in pain for them, and ſaid, Let it never happen to my Lord Mar to let thoſe people ly a night near the ennemie, for they'll certainlie have their throats cut. This Balcarres remember'd when I ſaw him laſt. Hamilton, who was then picqued, ſaid, He did not concern himſelf much for Mar, and Thomas Bruce did all without him. That night he gave us to underſtand that Mar had not brought ſo much as a ſpoon or a napkin of his oun from England with him, and was ſerveing himſelf with his; and that he had loſt his beſt opportunitie of doeing ſervice in the beginning, by not haveing ſome feu hundreds of pounds to deſtribute amongſt the Highland Chiefs, on his firſt goeing there, which would have brought them out ſooner then all the ſtories he could tell them, or what his rethorick was capable of; and that, before he came from London, he had made him believe he had vaſt ſoumes lodged alreadie in the hands of ſome merchants in Scotland, and tuo thouſand pounds alonge with him in his ſtronge box, of all which there was not one pennie to be ſeen: for Mar had left the ſtronge box with my Ladie Lyon, near to where he landed; and tho' he had talkt a great dale of it, did not ſend for it till of late, when we had ſo much in our treaſurie, by ceſſing the countrie, that tuo thouſand pound was of no odds to us. This is the ſtronge box, formerlie mention'd, which I ſent his Lordſhip from Fife, which, before that, his Lordſhip's oun friends gave out there was tuo thouſand pounds in. It will be found that the tuo thouſand pounds were given him at London for the ſervice, and was none of his Lordſhip's; but whether he brought the monie alonge with him or not, feu can tell; if he did, he left it in a place of ſafetie when he went to the Highlands, and, it ſeems, diſpair'd of his ſucceſs, and would not riſque it, thinking it would be of uſe to himſelf afterwards, tho' the pretext of getting it was that of gaining the Highland Chiefs at firſt; for ſure that ſmall ſoume was not deſigned for our ſubſiſtance. I am unwilling to think he, who did not hazard a fork or a ſpoon, brought that ſoume alonge with him, for even after his being at Pearth, and a conſiderable bodie got together, when the foot mutinied for want of pay, before we could get the

taxes raiſed, it is to be thought he'd ſent for it, rather than by occaſioning ſo great a diſcouragement, when the affair was ſo far gone, run the hazard of ruining all, which, if Panmure and Southeſque had not ſuddainlie put a ſtop to, by giveing each five hundred pound, muſt have befallen us; and at that time, as at all other times, there was no danger in bringeing it up ſafe in a feu hours; but his bringeing it up, or pretending to doe ſo, when we were in our greateſt plentie, looks to me very ſuſpicious, as if he had choſen the time of doeing it when none could be capable of judgeing whither it was throun in to our maſs or not. Theſe reaſons made me believe that the tuo thouſand pound was left in England for his Lordſhip's oun uſe, and if he made this grimace with his ſtronge box, and ſpoke of it, it was becauſe thoſe who gave it to him would not faile to tell it, and he had no other way of keeping it to himſelf, and ſaveing his credite, and accounting to them by his diſpoſeing of it in the ſervice; for it was no ſooner brought to Pearth then the whole ſtorie of it duindled, which would not have paſſed in ſuch ſilence if the Treaſurer had got it, and at that time would have been called his oun free gift, and he valued for ane act of ſo great generoſitie, out of a diſintereſted zeale; but to my certain knouledge the Treaſurer receav'd none of it. I know, likewiſe, that ſeveralls of thoſe who are not now in circumſtances to own themſelves his ennemies, accuſe him not onlie of this thift, but, it's ſaid, can give very clear evidences of a great dale more. The reader may judge as he pleaſes; for my part, I need no ſtronger preſumptions to perſuade me that Mar ever was and ever will be Mar; that is, in plain Scots, that a ſon of a whore, who from his cradle had it in him to be a thief, will be ſo while he breathes; and, according to our proverb, there's no takeing out of the fleſh what's bred in the bone.

It was after the affair of Dumfermling that I turned a greater favourite then ever of the generallitie of the gentlemen at Pearth; and all of them remember'd what I had ſo often propheſied, and own'd hou much I had been in the right to take the care I did on out commands, and then more than ever ſaw the danger they had been in at Dumblain; in a word, the very women in the ſtreets told me that had I been at Dumfermling that miſfortune would not happned. But to blot out this miſfortune, Mar forged letters from Stirling, giveing account of a great many wounded

dragoons being brought back there, as well as wounded horſes, and that ſome had dyed in their returning back, and that others had been killed in the toun, who the ennemie carried away with them, that we might not know what loſs they had ſuſtained, and all buried privatelie in the cole-pits, to the number of eleven. This was confirmed by different letters, ſo it was not doubted of, even by thoſe who were at Dumfermling; for he who was under a bed, or in a garret, did not know but he that was running away was killing dragoons, and he who run away did not know but thoſe under the beds were doeing the ſame; and their commanding officer, Major Graham, and the generall director, Malcome, were longe enough out of the way to have killed a hundred, for it was far in the day before they could be found. There was nothing more ridicoulous than to ſee the whole pleaſed with finding out the knack of killing of men without being at the trouble of it. Thus the dragoons were mauled without their feeling of it, or without any man's haveing it to ſay that he dreu a ſuord or fired a piſtoll; and it was aſſerted, in the letters, that they had payed ſo dear for it, they'd not make another attempt of that kind; this was to hinder the onlie good effect of this miſfortune, and for fear it ſhould make people wiſer and more cautious on command another time.

No bodie talkt nou of aſſiſtance from France, or of any other want but the King, and from the beginning, or at that time, not the leaſt care takne to ſend to buy pouder or armes in Hamburgh, Lubeck, Bremen, Holland, Norway, Gottemburgh, or Dunkirk, tho' we had ſmall ſhips enough to ſend any where, ſince France was out of head; and we had not yet had the leaſt account of the King, as if he and all about him had been dead. Mar, on the other hand, had ſent of[f] Sir John Erſkine,[1] a near relation of his, and one of his creatures, to France; haveing heard of people's grumbling at his ſending off Collonell Hay without communicateing it to any bodie, had ſent this laſt in a more private manner, for he was ten days gone before any bodie knew of it, for fear we had demanded the ſatiffaction of choiſeing one whoſe report we all could truſt. The choice of this meſſenger could not be more agreeable to us than his former; no man haveing been of a more oppoſite principle to us all his life then this had been, and tho' it

[1] Of Alva, an Advocate, and a Member of the Union Parliament.

were hard to blame him for haveing a great hand in the Union, becauſe his capacitie nor influence was not great, yet he gave his vote to each article of it; for it's not his way to heſitate on thoſe occaſions, nor dare the boldeſt of thoſe who promoted it ſay he bellou'd ſo loude in that cauſe as Sir John Erſkine, or expoſed himſelf more with grateing the ears of the Parliement with noiſe and nonſenſe, or maintain'd ſo longe that the Union was a good thing. For, when the moſt devoted to the Court had given up the defence of it, he moſt impudentlie ſtood to it, and, to my certain knouledge, was of that opinion not one year before, and, for what I know, and have reaſon to think, continued ſo till the very day of his joyning his friend Mar; for by that time he had loſt all expectation of doeing his work with the Whigs, both parties of that ſet being offended at him for his too great levitie, and his endeavouring to make up his want of ſufficiencie by goeing betuixt them; nor had he ever been conſtant in any thing but being our and his countrie's ennemie. So it may be ſaid, that his Chief was turned out by the Whigs for being ſo intolerable a knave, and he throun out of expectation for being ſo intolerable a fool, for he did not want ſo ſtronge ane inclination to the other as not to been willing to doe them any ſort of ſervice, had they found the capacitie in him.

> " Olim truncus erat ficulnus, inutile lignum;
> Cum faber, incertus ſcamnum faceretne Priapum,
> Maluit eſſe deum." Horat. Sat.

This gentleman is my brother-in-law,[1] and I ought to know him, nor can I accuſe myſelf of ever haveing ſpared him, abſent or preſent, in my life, or dureing the time of his changes did I ever change my ſentiments of him; but not to doe him injuſtice, I muſt ſay, that his darling paſſion of being fond of deſperate projects, was, I believe, none of his leaſt motives: the force of his imagination hinders the ſtreacheing the vieus of his ſpirit to make a juſt judgement of any thing, which depends on the compareing different reaſons. He fills his head ſo much with one, that he gives no entrie to all the others, which reſembles him properlie to thoſe who are too

[1] Sir John Erskine of Alva married the Honourable Catherine Sinclair, sister of the Master.

near the objects, and fees nothing but what is precifelie before them. By that reaſon, it muſt be, that he imagins he can put a thing in execution ſooner then one who has thrice his ſenſe can conceave it; nor has all the different experiments faileing, that he ever tryed in his life, convinced him one bit of his oun inſufficiencie. He has ſtill the miſfortune to imagine he's born to be a great man, and, when all failes, nothing but want of wings can hinder him from undertaking the Voyage of the Moon.

But it was in vaine for any bodie to ſay any thing, or reflect on this, for my Lord Mar, who was firſt onlie a meſſenger of good tideings, next a Generall of his oun makeing by the help of children, fools, and bankrupts, after that a Generall by authoritie which did not know him, was now a moſt ſouveraigne and arbitrarie Prince by the force of our monie, upon no ſmall part of us, and great hopes given by his promiſeing to take care of others, and, when neither of thoſe did, he ſucceeded by his addreſs in detracting, his greateſt talent and conſtant refuge; for which uſe he made up a pack of deep-mouthed hounds, compoſed of penſionarie Lords, aide-de-camps (of which never Generall had ſo manie), bankrupts, and a vaſt number of others, of all ſortes and ſizes. Their common chace was Huntlie, who was not eaſilie run doun, and ſerved to keep them in wind, except ſome freſh game ſtarted, and with thoſe he ſet all the curs in toun of barking, who, tho' they knew nothing of the game, folloued the pack, and pleaſ'd themſelves with opening, as well as the beſt bred hound. There was nobodie, on all thoſe occaſions, ſo often at a loſs as Sir Heugh Paterſone, for, tho' a finger-fed dog, and a favourite, and keen enough, yet was of a mongrel kind, and had no noſe, and all the laſhing could be given him did not cure him of running the counter and babling. So, being now uſed to the ſervitude, and the one frightned by the exemple of the other, no publick notice was to be takne, and very little private, of what Mar did; a common jealouſie haveing ſprung up amongſt the whole, and no man truſted his ſentiments to another, for everie bodie ſaw where it tended, and was to be a favourite at the expence of his friend, ſince he could not doe better. Mar's intereſt being all that was to be cared for, it was very allouable for him to make uſe of his oun friends; for, certainlie, if the intereſt of the Countrie had been in view, we would not made ſo intire a

ſurrender of ourſelves to thoſe we caught in the flagrant fact of ſelling their Countrie, and whome we unanimouſlie had all alonge called Villains, nor could anſuer to our own conſciences (if there be ſuch a thing left) and our Countrie for the doeing ſo. Or, if all that was ſham, and nothing of it in the caſe, we were like men of prudence, if not like men of honeſtie, to look to ourſelves, and conſider, that thoſe haveing been our avoued enemies all their lives, had not been ſo but for their intereſt; for it would be ſtill a worſe conſtruction to put it on the foot of willfull malice; and if ſo, it was that great god their intereſts haveing changed which brought them to us, and in purſueing that, they'd as quicklie change again, and either ſell us for it, or doe what was equall, tryſle with us. Nor could Mar's hazarding ſo much, in makeing ſo odious choiſes, have any other intention then not letting the King know in what condition we were in; nor us what we had to expect or truſt to, after his being ſenſible of our haveing found him out in millions of lyes, and never haveing ſaid one true word ſince his comeing amongſt us, to give us the leaſt grounds of encouragement to cheat ourſelves, or to hope that all that went to the King through his Lordſhip of Mar's canale, or came to us from him through the ſame, muſt not be tainted by the minerale it paſt through, the nature of which we knew ſuch, without analiſeing it, that it muſt ſtink more than it had paſt through a common ſewer. But if the Tories and Jacobites are willing to excuſe this; to own that they were neither capable to conſult, or be at all imploy'd in their own affairs, and, for that reaſon, all was to be put in the hands of the dregs and refuſe of the Whigs which they had ſent us, while themſelves were to be coopt up in a pound fold in Pearth, in as great ignorance and unaction as they had been all horn'd beaſts; they muſt acknouledge with me they are a ſad crew, and good for nothing but being bubled by the firſt who comes, or ſold like ſo many ſheep or oxen. Tho' it's impoſſible to comprehend that all wanted brains equallie, and of ſuch a number of men ſome did not conſult their oun intereſts, a talent generallie given in ſome degree by nature to the weakeſt of people; therfor, on a ſtrickt enquirie it will be found, a conſiderable number of thoſe who had influence happned to be children, and thoſe who, generallie ſpeaking, had any ſhare of ſenſe, or knouledge of the world, were bankrupts, and eaſilie bought off

by Mar, to lead the others into the nooſe, like ſo many decoy ducks: And had it not been our monie, the condeſcenſion amongſt men of equall rank, or intirelie independant, would not been ſo great as to make them neglect the very curioſitie of knowing to the bottom what they had to depend on, after being imbarkt in any indifferent cauſe, for they themſelves did not truſt him, but being pay'd for that paſſive humor, and haveing no eſtates to looſe, were indifferent about it, being aſſured that was the way to deſerve ſomething elſwhere, and knouing they could not be more at home then when abroad, haveing no countrie to looſe neither.

Mar, in the beginning of our affair, before his own commiſſion came, had takne upon him to make ſome of thoſe who were not the moſt diſtinguiſht men amongſt us Collonells, and others of leſs note Liutennant-Collonells and Majors. The deſign of that was to gain them to him, as if he had undertakne to raiſe and ſupport them out of friendſhip, and the value he had of their merite againſt all young and idle pretenders of greater intereſt or titles; but they were deſired to keep the ſecret, becauſe it would breed a jealouſie if it came to be known they had got the elder commiſſions, and intreated them to allow thoſe of intereſt to take upon them and doe as they pleaſ'd; in the mean time it could be no prejudice to them, for, when it ſhould be proper to declare it, they'd always be prefer'd, by takeing their rank from their commiſſions of a prior date. Theſe fools, who never had been ſojers, and but ſmall pretenſions to any rank, took it for the greateſt mark of favour the preference he gave them, for they never expected a Court ſo favourable, and conceaved great expectations, run about and lyed for him, and did every thing he had a mind, ſince all tended to their advancement, and believed they were working for themſelves. After this, he diſcovers his intention of giveing out more commiſſions to ſome of his favourite Lords, who he thought fitteſt for his purpoſe, and about the time of his commiſſions comeing, makes Kilſeyth and Mariſhall Major-Generalls: This ſet all the others agoge; and everie bodie who had either a followving, or a title of Lord without a followving, run upon him for commiſſions; which he wanted they ſhould doe, that he might have ane opportunitie of oblidgeing them all, and, at ſame time, diſtinguiſhing thoſe by greateſt commiſſions

who he wanted to make uſe of; thoſe who were moſt reaſonable he could eaſilie ſatiſfie with that of a Collonell, for tho' they deſerved better, it was for the good of the ſervice to give them no more at that time, and he knew that was not the deſigne of their comeing out, bid them leave the reſt to him, he'd take care they ſhould not be wronged, and make it up to them ſooner or later. This he did to people who he onlie wanted to pleaſe, but thoſe who were bankrupts, who, for reaſons knoun to himſelf, from the beginning he had a mind to oblidge, he made Brigadeers at once; ſuch as Ogilvie of Boyn, who came with his commiſſion from France, who had not one fur of ground, and had left the countrie many years for debt, and had not one man to follow him, and never had ſerved, who he made a Brigadeer of the foot; and he made it almoſt a generall rule, except ſome of his very particular friends, no bodie was firſt and laſt advanced to any diſtinguiſht poſt but bankrupts; nor did he give out any of thoſe commiſſions to thoſe people except Mariſhall and Kilſeyth, till he had ſatiſfied all the others with being Collonells.

There was indeed a neceſſitie of giveing thoſe of following comiſſions, for, tho' not officers, there was no other way of bringing them into a form and ſubordination; (a comiſſion putting them under the obligation of obeying;) and no Clan being willing to looſe their name, and join immediatelie under another Chief, every Chief pretending to ane equallitie, they could not well have leſs than that of Collonell. As to thoſe of the horſe, who led ſquadrons, they might very well been contented with Captain's commiſſions, or, if it was thought more orderlie or regular to form each ſquadron into three companies, the caracter of Collonell was not deſpicable, when gentlemen as good as themſelves, and of much better eſtates, were troopers. But the improveing that neceſſitie of haveing ſome who bore the rank of officers, tho' none could pretend a capacitie for the loueſt poſt, to that of Generall of the horſe, and Major-Generalls, was very ſtrange; for certainlie thoſe who were not capable to command a regiment, or a ſquadron, or a company, could have no pretenſions to be Generalls, and far leſs thoſe of no greater capacitie, who had none of thoſe to command, ſince all the claim they had to any command was founded on our miſfortune, and becauſe there was no others, everie one was to doe the beſt he could with

thoſe who folloued him. Haveing thoſe tuo Major-Generalls of horſe, he could not, out of ſhame, but make the Marquiſe of Tullibardine Major-Generall of the foot, haveing done him more ſervice from the beginning than any bodie there, and ſtill the moſt conſiderable after Huntlie; ſo it was his intereſt to force that commiſſion upon him, which he was too modeſt to aſk. As to the other commiſſions of the horſe, Linlithgow, Southeſque, Rollo, and I, were made Collonells; for he had made Hary Balfour, who ſerv'd as Liutennant-Collonell under my command, and Collonell Hay, his brother-in-law, who ſerved in the ſame ſtation under Rollo, Collonells in his firſt promotion; ſo that I, who, of all thoſe who had ſquadrons, was the onlie [one] who had ſerved, was made the youngeſt officer of the whole, tho' I was the firſt who came with any number of horſe to Pearth. But, indeed, I believe the fault was my oun, for I had all alonge ſaid that I needed not my Lord Mar's commiſſion to command the Fife gentlemen, and that being the hight of my ambition, I wanted no commiſſion from him, nor did I ever aſk anie, and would ſcarſe accept of it when it was ſent me, till I reflected that it was irregular to refuſe it.

But ſome imagineing juſtice was not done their merite, promotions did not ſtop there; Mariſhall's claime to advancement being, that he was a year a Collonell of the Horſe Granadeers, at London, in the laſt of Queen Ann's reigne, and Kilſeyth's, that he was Liutennant-Collonell before the Revolution. Linlithgow, who had as great a mind to be a Generall as any, had wit enough to reflect that Mar had made himſelf Generalliſſimo, and Drummond Generall of the horſe, by plain lying; he pretended he had a commiſſion of Collonell from King James of eight years date, and, by virtue of that, muſt be ane elder Major-Generall then Mariſhall or Kilſeyth; and tho' he had continued Collonell till now, was very ill ſatiſfied; Mar would not ſtood to pleaſ'd him at any bodie's expence but Mariſhall and Kilſeyth's, who were to be his principal tools, and durſt not venture at once to make too many promotions of that kind till he ſaw how theſe took; and ſeeing Rollo and I eaſie, he compounded the matter with him, and made him a Brigadeer, and at ſame time my Lord Southeſque, who, I muſt doe the juſtice to ſay, did not deſire it, and told me he was in doubt to accept, but that

Pourie Fothringam adviſed him to it, and ſaying, there was no harm in takeing; who Mar had ſent to him, as I believe, that he might fix the greater obligation on him; for Mar, next to his generall rule of takeing care of bankrupts, was a great admirer of ignorance and ſimplicitie.

Here I muſt give way to my oun vanitie, to ſay that many of the gentlemen were ſurpriſed I was not advanced. I told them I had not deſired it, and had had alreadie as much honour as I wiſht for, and as great a command as I thought I was capable of. Then, I have been aſkt, If I thought ſo, how came Linlithgow, Southeſque, and others, to be capable? I ſaid, They were beſt judges of that themſelves; and indeed, they were as capable of it as of any other thing. This laſt advancement happning a little after the ruffle at Dumfermling, I don't know what ſpirit moved my Lord Huntlie's tuo ſquadrons particularlie, to goe to him, and tell him they'd be commanded by no bodie but I; for the loſs of Dumfermling falling heavieſt on them, they had a mind for the future to have one to command them who they thought they could truſt. Huntlie was ſatiffied with the propoſall, and ſaid he'd ſpeak to me; and this was done when I had little or no acquaintance of Huntlie, and had never made him ſo much as a viſite, and none at all amongſt the gentlemen. His Lordſhip bid Iruine of Drum, who he made afterwards Collonell to one of his ſquadrons, tell me he wanted to ſee me. I went to Scone alonge with Drum, where Huntlie ſurpriſed me with the propoſale. I thankt his Lordſhip and the gentlemen for the good opinion they had of me, but told him that I had enough to doe alreadie, and more under my command then I could well manage, and wiſht he would give the command of his tuo ſquadrons to ſome other; and ſaid, There were idle Lords enough who would be glade of a leſs command, to keep them in countenance. He anſuer'd, That neither he nor his friends would be contented with thoſe, for were there no more in it but ſuch leaders, they had ignorant folks enough amongſt themſelves. I owned to him, ingenuouſlie, that I did not underſtand the horſe ſervice, for I had ſerved amongſt the foot, and that if I was amongſt them now, it was not out of choice, but becauſe I did not know how to diſpoſe of myſelf otherwiſe, for I could not propoſe to be of any uſe amongſt the Highlandmen, whoſe language I did not underſtand,

or, if I did, who were ſo ſavage that it was impoſſible for any man to bringe them to diſcipline; and, haveing ſpoke ſo in the beginning to Strathmore, who offered to make me his Liutennant-Collonell of Low-countrie foot, I was within amb's ace of accepting of it, and leaving the more honourable command to take that in which I thought I could be more ſerviceable to my countrie; but, finding that everie bodie was drauing to himſelf, and the worthleſeſt formed the greateſt pretenſions, it being then their harveſt, I had continu'd where my lot had throun me, leaſt ſuch ſhould takne advantage of it. (Of this communeing of Strathmore's and mine Barafield is a living witneſs, who accepted of that poſt on my refuſale.) At laſt, Huntlie told me, he'd take no denyell, and the gentlemen of his tuo ſquadrons would not be ſatiffied if I was not made a Brigadeer, for they were ſcandalized at the makeing thoſe ſuperiour officers who were not capable to command ten men, and keep thoſe under who knew ſervice. Then, I ſaid, I had put on a ſtronge reſolution not to be a Brigadeer, or further advanced, nor could he think that if any buſieneſs happened I could quit my Fife friends. He ſaid, He'd make it ſo that his friends and mine ſhould be always together, and my conſenting to it on that foot would be ane obligation done him, and that I muſt goe with him next day to Mar, which I at laſt conſented to, rather then diſoblidge him. He called me next morning, and we went together to Mar; and he told him that his friends and he would have Mr Sinclair to command them, and no other, on any out command, or at any time; and ſince he had a mind to put Collonells on his tuo ſquadrons, for that reaſon it was proper I ſhould be made a Brigadeer, ſince I was to have within a very few of the one-half of the horſe of the armie under my command. Mar came up to me with a forc'd ſmile, and aſkt, If I deſir'd it? I anſuer'd, Not I; no more than that of Collonell, which was ſent me, but the Marquiſe of Huntly had been preſſing me to it, ſince I was to command his people, who were to have Collonells of their oun over each ſquadron, to put them on a foot with the others, and he thought that title would make them more ſubordinate; but, for my part, I did not court it. Mar ſaid, Had he knoun I had deſir'd it, he had done it ere nou. I anſuer'd, I did not doubt of it, nor did I deſire it then; and in demonſtration of it, I never took out my commiſſion, tho' that night

I was declar'd ſo in orders. But to ſhew his Lordſhip of Mar's good will, he put the Viſcount of Kingſtoun[1] before me, who had been with us from the beginning, without any notice being takne of him, or the leaſt commiſſion, till then; and, tho' he had no influence, yet had a juſter title than any of them to a commiſſion, haveing ſerved in Catalonia. The onlie pleaſure I had in this was the ſatiſfaction of mortifieing the Lords, who, after the expoſeing themſelves with the vanitie of being Generalls and Brigadeers, had amongſt them all but four ſquadrons to command, when I had three; and I was not afraid they'd have the impudence or courage to come and give me orders at any time, their follie haveing now raiſed my ſpleen a little. For, tho' I'd had no other reaſon, advancement was to me a jeaſt, knouing very well hou all would goe; and had I inclined before that, without lying or makeing court to Mar, I could formed as ſtronge, and, in my opinion, ſtronger pretenſions as any, for if it went by haveing influence on ſo many gentlemen, I had as good a title to it as any there, not to ſay better then moſt; if by familie, I'm apt to believe that by that reaſon they dare ſay I had any leſs title, and it can't be denyed I had more ſervice, otherwiſe I muſt have ſpent my time but very ill. Nor can I believe the Lords flatter themſelves they were preferred to anie bodie for their longe heads or prudence. Houever, Mar gain'd his aime by this management; and by his publick and private commiſſions, ſome of which were and are daylie appearing, made ſuch a jumble, and created ſuch jealouſies amongſt friends and followings, that it contributed not a little to the playing his game.

I found Huntley's people in greater confuſion then any of the others, and at that time did not know who to obey as their officers, and I ſpoke to his Lordſhip, who knew them, to nominate thoſe he thought proper to be captains and other officers, that they might be divided in troops, and doe their ſervice with the others as regularlie as it was poſſible for them; but to no purpoſe. Here I don't pretend to excuſe my friend, my Lord Huntlie; for, either out of fear of diſoblidgeing ſome, by advanceing others, which would give Mar a handle to work in upon him, as he

[1] James Seaton, Viscount of Kingston, afterwards attainted. He had been an Ensign in the Scots Fusiliers in Queen Anne's time.

and Mariſhall had attempted with his foot, or out of a ſpirit of delaying, he contributed not a little to their diſorder.

A ſtorie was induſtriouſlie ſpread in Pearth that the Duke of Argyle uſed our gentlemen barbarouſlie who were takne in Dumfermling, that Mar might have ane opportunitie of ſhewing himſelf a brave fellow, and ſpeakeing big, and threatning he would uſe the firſt of the ennemie he caught no better, and of writeing a letter to the Duke of Argyle, as he ſaid, in theſe terms, to perſuade all he fear'd nothing, and that he had a good opinion of the cauſe, and of makeing the meſſenger bring what return he thought fit. He ſent my trumpet with the letter, to which the Duke of Argyle made no anſuer, but on his return aſſured us, that he had ſeen ſome of the priſoners, who ſaid they were as well uſed as they could expect, and that one of the gentlemen,[1] who was wounded, was dreſſed carefullie everie day by the Duke's own chirurgeon. Thus far I believed his report; but Mar bribed him to ſay further, that Major Cathcart, who was the Duke's Aide-de-camp, had told him, That when the Duke ſent out that detachement to Dumfermling, he had no deſigne of ſhadeing blood, but hindring the countrie to be pillaged, and that he was ſorrie for what happned; and this laſt part was none of the leaſt reaſons of ſending the trumpet[2] to gull the poor unthinking people, and make them fancie they had no enemie, and might, for the future, doe as they pleaſ'd. But this was not enough; for Sir Heugh Paterſone receaved a letter from Stirling to confirm it, telling that his Grace had diſcountenanced a captain of dragoons, who, he ſaid, was the man who commanded the partie into Dumfermling, and named him De Curie.

But, ſince I am on the ſubject of lyes, I muſt mention here a letter Mar pretended to receave from Mr Foreſter of Bamburie, our Engliſh Generall, and intercepted by him. It was a letter wrote by the Prince to the Duke of Argyle, in the manner of ane order, commanding his Grace not to riſque the few troops he had, and retire with them to Berwick, ſo ſoon as we came to paſs the Forth; ſo that it was concluded

[1] Dr Gordon.

[2] The Report of John Maclean, Trumpet, dated 1st November 1715, is printed in the Appendix to Rae's History of the Rebellion.

the ancient Kingdom was our oun; and at this time we were ſo capable of all impreſſions, that nothing could be told us extravagante enough; and if anie doubted of it in private, or told his reaſons for not believing it to one he thought was his friend, ten to one he was a penſioner, or a friend and favourite of ſome great Generall, and the whole pack was let looſe upon him, and if they overrun him, or ſtarted freſh game, there was another pack of ſlow beagles that came yelping on the cold ſcent eight days after; and there was no remiſſion or forgiveneſs for a crime of that nature, and as little refuge.

My Lord Bredalbain, who had engaged as ſoon as anie to ſend us tuo battalions, of ſix hundred men each, forgot his promiſe for a longe time, tho' we had refreſht his memorie with ſending him monie to raiſe them, and, after frequent ſollicitation, had ſent onlie three hundred to joyn the Clans, came about this time to Pearth, as I was told, ſeeking more monie. His extraordinarie caracter[1] and dreſs made everie bodie

[1] John, first Earl of Breadalbane, was indeed one of the most extraordinary characters of his time, being possessed of many talents and a profusion of vices. He was a profound dissembler, treacherous, vindictive, rapacious, and profligate to an extraordinary pitch. King William's Ministry, in 1689–90, entrusted him with L.30,000 to pacify the Highlands, then desperate from the consequences of Dundee's insurrection. To some of the great Chiefs he gave a small share of the booty, others he pacified with promises, and many he overawed with threats. To the Minister who desired an account of the expenditure of this sum, Breadalbane answered in these memorable words:—"My Lord, the money is spent, the Highlands are quiet, and this is the only way of accounting between friends." The unfortunate Macdonald of Glencoe gave Breadalbane some trouble about this money, in revenge of which, and of some other old grudges, the Earl devised, and his regiment executed, that celebrated and most treacherous exploit, commonly called the Massacre of Glencoe. He contrived to keep up an interest with both parties in the State, although it is not easy to account either for his taking so decisive a step as to join Mar at all, or for his escaping out of the matter so easily. He must have been nearly eighty years old when he came to Perth on that hopeful expedition.

"Fortes creantur fortibus:" I cannot help jotting down that this Earl John was father to that second Earl of Breadalbane, another worthy descendant of

run to ſee him, as if he had been a ſpectacle. Amongſt others, my curioſitie led me: He was the merrieſt grave man I ever ſaw, and no ſooner was told any bodie's name than he had ſome pleaſant thing to ſay to him, mockt the whole, and had a way of laughing inwardlie which was very perceptible, and that for nere three quarters of ane hour I was by him. He told ſome of the polliticiens, amongſt other things, that it was a ſhame to them to be idle at Pearth, looſeing their time doeing nothing, and, ſince they did not fight, he adviſed them to get a printing-preſs, and if they had nothing elſe to ſay, print Gazets;[1] he ſaid it was inconceaveable the good that printing their neus would doe them, and the value of thoſe papers. They took it in earneſt, and a preſs was ſent for to Aberdeen in all haſte, and ſpread in toun that we were to print Gazets; and I was not alloued

Donachu Dhu a Churich, (Black Duncan with the thrum-cap,) who was well known in the earlier part of the last century by the name of Old Rag. His son married the heiress of Grey, Duke of Kent, and had a son by her; but [having] predeceased its father, the large estate, which would otherwise have gone into the Breadalbane family, [passed into other hands.] Old Rag was much dissatisfied, and damned his son Glenorqhuy for his stupidity. "For," said he, "had he sent the boy to me, he should never have died so long as there was a lad-bairn in Breadalbane." There are curious stories told of Old Rag, but chiefly such as paper will not endure. He was exceedingly hard favoured, so much so, that once upon a time when he was indisposed in a hotel in London, the landlord telling over to him the contents of his larder, the Earl suddenly withdrew his grim countenance from some folds of tartan under which he had shrouded it, and in answer to his host's obliging proffers, said, "I think I could eat a bit of a *poor man*." What he meant was a blade bone of mutton, called a *poor man* in Scotland, as in England it is sometimes named a poor Knight of Windsor. But his face and tone frightened mine host out of the room, who never doubted that his Lordship might have been in the custom of eating a tenant now and then when *chez lui*. Rag died at Holyrood in 1750. In his last paroxysm (he was upwards of ninety) the assistants held a mirror to his face to see if he yet breathed. A servant maid held a candle to the mirror, when the dying man made so frightful a grimace that she dropt the light on his breast. Rag exerted himself so far as to make the most singular remark that ever left the lips of a dying man. They were the last words he spoke, but pen must not transcribe them.

[1] A printing press was accordingly obtained from Aberdeen, and Fairbairn, the printer before mentioned, was created Gazetteer.

to ſay I did not believe it, knowing that Mar, on ſecond thoughts, would not love to have ſo many teſtimonies of his integritie ſtanding in record againſt him; and, indeed, theſe papers would been of very great value to the curious, for, of the many ſorts of lyes was vented, ſome were onlie calculated for the preſent time, and it was as treaſonable to repeat or remember them ſome time after, as it was not to believe them at firſt, and were of that nature that they were to be forgot, and the ſame people ſhew'd the ſame vigour in ſuppreſſing them which they did at firſt in maintaining them, and that with horrid oaths, that never ſuch things were ſaid or imagin'd.

As before, we onlie wanted Huntlie's joyning us to paſs the Forth, and all tongues had been imploy'd againſt him for his being too ſlow, and no ſooner he came, had found out ane expedient to excuſe ourſelves from doeing it, by ſending Mackintoſh over the Frith (for that was the true reaſon) to be in his rear, as Mar gave out, and ſaid in his letters, while the Clans were to come doun the other ſide of Forth. After the conqueſt of Argylſhire, we made ourſelves deſigndlie ſo weak that we could not attack his front, and, in a word, in ſuch a condition that we durſt not look at him in front, flank, or rear, and therefor muſt order the Clans to joyn us; which, ſo ſoon as they did, we'd make his Grace of Argyle retire to Berwick, and obey the Prince's orders. The Clans bloodthirſtie curioſitie was ſoon ſatiſfied in Argylſhire, by ſeeing folks in armes[1] there readie to receave them, and nothing to be got in that countrie, for it's ill takeing breeches from a Highlandman, according to the proverb; moſt willinglie obey'd, and, in their marche towards us, were joyned by Lochiell, with the Clan Cameron, and Steuart of Apin, with his followving. Mar order'd them to cantoon at Auchterarduch; and, tho' it was ſaid that they were to be followed by Sir James Campbell of Auchinbrek,[2] with his men, who could not come alonge, becauſe they left him in a feaver. They were prittie modeſt, and did not brag much of their ſucceſs, onlie it was

[1] The Earl of Isla, afterwards Duke of Argyle, threw himself into Inverary with about a thousand men, and held the place out against the Clans of the West Highlands, commanded by General Gordon.

[2] Sir James was indeed in arms, but it was on the other side.

believed the Campbells[1] might at laſt be brought to marche doun the other ſide Forth, and favour our paſſage now, the Clans being to marche with us. Linlithgow was commanded out to Auchterarduch, with the ſtandard ſquadron and Rollo's, to joyn the Clans, and after being there ten days or a fortnight, he was to be relieved. Mar, as well as thoſe about him, were glade of the occaſion to get ridd of Huntley's tuo ſquadrons, with whom there was a continuell ſtruggell in doeing their guards or pickets, and all duties; all being in confuſion for want of dividing in troops, and they rancour'd, by continueing ſtill to be the jeaſt of the whole, without the poor gentlemen's knouing for what; not being ſo wiſe as thoſe who had been longer with us, and ſuſpecting that hardſhips were put upon them, in oblidgeing them to doe more dutie than the others, which, I believe, was true, but not to be known till put in order. So they were order'd out to relieve Linlithgow and Rollo, and went with pleaſure, each being wearied of other, hopeing they would get more juſtice done them where they were goeing. Huntley ſpoke to me to marche them to Auchterarduch, which I did, and endeavour'd to bring them in to a methode of marcheing regularlie, but I found ſo many diviſions and ſub-diviſions amongſt them, that I did not know where to begin with them, for ſome one or other wanted to be on the right of everie troop, into which they had divided themſelves moſt unequallie; others, who compoſed ſuch a troop, would have the right in the ſquadron, or marche in by troops alone; and this had now run on ſo longe, they were heated againſt one another, there ſeem'd no appearance of ane accomodation; and all this proceeded from Huntley's indulgence, out of fear of Mar's takeing advantage if any of them were diſoblidged. Some, who were wearied of all that conteſt, and ſaw how Huntlie alloued them and himſelf to be treated, ſtay'd in Pearth, with a reſolution to leave his ſquadrons; which was all Mar aſkt of them, and wrought his game. I was forced to tell them my opinion, with a great dale of frankneſs, which the better ſorte was pleaſed with; and was indifferent about the others. At laſt I got them formed into tolerable order; onlie one troop, which I made the avant guarde, would by no means marche in ſquadron.

[1] The Campbells were much divided during the whole affair.

By the time I got there Huntley was reviewing the Clans, a great part of whom were his oun vaſſalls; I thought them as good like men as I ever ſaw, but no better armed than we. I was civillie receav'd by all, and particularlie by Captain of Clanronald,[1] who ſurpriſed me with a compliment which I neither deſerved or expected, he told me, He wanted more to ſee me engaged in that affair then anie man in Scotland. I dare ſay he meant ſooner than any man who was preſumed to be of our partie, and indeed that was too much. All of them ſet upon me, and preſſed me to ſtay at Auchterarduch with them, and aſſured me they ſhould get the Fife ſquadron ſent to joyn us next day, that I might have all under my command with me; and becauſe they had ane opinion of that ſquadron, I excuſed myſelf, under the pretext of ſaying, It would be a hardſhip done my friends to bring them out on my account; but the truth was, I was wearied of Huntley's horſe. Houever, I ſaid, Since they expreſt themſelves ſo much in favours of the Fife gentlemen and me, if ever they marched ſeperatlie on any expedition, and wanted horſe, I'd be always readie to marche with them. We had been told they were to be nere to five thouſand when Lochiell and Apin joyned, but they were not more then tuo thouſand five hundred, being weakned by deſertion in that fatigueing marche, nere as much as thoſe tuo Clans ſtrengthen'd them.

Huntley, Generall Gordon, Glengarie, Sir John Maclean, and I, went to Pearth that night. On the road goeing back, I ſhew'd Glengarie a place of the horſe cantoonment, which, I ſaid, was expoſed to the inſults of the Duke of Argyle's guarniſone at Caſtle Campbell; not that I believed he'd take more notice of ſuch reaſoning than I had ſeen others doe before, who anſuer'd all with that ſalvo, No fear, no fear; but wonder'd to ſee him enter into it, ſent back a ſervant, and order'd thirtie Highlandmen to be quarter'd there with the horſe. In our returning, Huntlie, Generall Gordon, and Glengarie, begun to talk a little obſcurelie, for I was not then well acquainted with them, about keeping the Clans in a ſeparate bodie, and of marcheing by themſelves with Huntley's horſe, and ſpoke again oftner than once of bringing the Fife ſquadron to joyn them. Sometimes I imagin'd

[1] Allan Macdonald, Captain of Clanranald, a Chief of great gallantry and courage, who fell leading the Highland charge at Sheriffmuir.

Glengarie, who was the leading man, went into it to pleaſe Huntlie for the time; at other times, I fancied Glengarie had a deſigne on the plunder of Glaſgow, and dreu in Huntley to joyn, by his getting the name of that command; but they ſpoke ſo obſcurelie that I could determine nothing, and often ſpoke low; only Huntley ſaid, plain enough, He'd have all his people, foot and horſe, joyn the Clans. I muſt ſay that I was afraid of a ſeparation; and I thought it my dutie to advertiſe Generall Hamilton of the jealouſie which I had, that he might tell Mar of it; for I could call it no other. But I thought it was eaſier preventing theſe things in the beginning, then remeading them afterwards, if once takne root; and tho' I knew the ſtate of our affairs too well to preſage good of them, yet a ſeparation of that kind might well make us worſe, it could not better us. I know he told Mar of it. How he managed it, I can't tell; but Hamiltone told me, next day, they had made Glengarie maedlie drunk, as he called it, and had broke the neck of that project. Houever, Huntley inſiſted at this time and afterwards, to have his foot at Pearth joyn the Clans. It's certain all the Clans, at their firſt comeing, had no other notion but that of being commanded by Huntley; and Captain of Clanronald, who was the firſt of them who came to Pearth, ſaid, that he engaged to ſerve the King, but, next to him, he'd follow no man ſo willinglie as Huntlie; and this in Mar's antichamber; for thoſe were then ſtrangers to us, and were not as yet reconciled to Mar, ſo as to give him the intire truſt. But it was not longe ere Mar's addreſs and the common cry changed their minds, and lay'd out all Huntley's faults, ſo that they had no further regarde to him than to flatter him a little; as to the reſt, [they] did what they pleaſed; nor can I think but the publick monie given in a double portion to Glengarie, who had the key of the others, with everie one's getting his own quota, contributed a great dale to it; for Generall Gordon, then whom no man was a more humble ſervant of his before, forgot, as ſoon as anie of them, his obligations to his Chief. What made me find greateſt fault, that if Huntley had a mind to anything, why did he not give his reaſons, and ſpeak plain and above board, and, in that caſe, ten to one I'd been of his ſide; but we'd at leaſt had the pleaſure of knowing the meaning of it.

About this time one Robert Douglas,[1] a Borderer, was ſent by the Viſcount of Kenmuire to Mar with intelligence, and to receave neu orders, haveing, together with Mackintoſh, joyned the tuo Engliſh Lords Darnwater and Widdrington, and Generall Foreſter. This Douglas being of my Lord Rollo's acquaintance, I aſkt Rollo to make ane appointment with him the evening before he went off, that I might have ane opportunitie of ſatiſfieing my curioſitie; which he did, and Mr Francois Steuart, brother to the Earle of Murray, went alonge with us. Douglas was very cloſe, and I could eaſilie diſcover the lyeing ſpirit of my Lord Mar in him; but being then called out about his diſpatches, I aſkt a younge Engliſhman, who came alonge with him as a companion, ſome pointed queſtions about the number of the Engliſh that had joyn'd, and about their horſes and armes. He was more ingenuous, and told plainlie their number was not five hundred when he left them, and of thoſe few or none well arm'd, all the greateſt part altogether without armes; that their horſes were light hunting horſes, and hunting ſaddles and ſnaffles made up their accoutrements; that there was ſcarce a cutting ſuord amongſt them all: in teſtimonie of which, he ſaid, That for ſuch ſuords as we wore he could change each for a horſe of 25 guineas. He ſaid more, That ſeveral, yea numbers, who had joyned, had return'd home for want of armes, and if it were not for that want, there would be men enough got. I aſkt him about the Scots who had joyn'd with Kenmuire. He ſaid, They were about a hundred, and that they were much better horſed for the purpoſe, becauſe they had ſtronge ruff horſes, and were all very well armed; which I underſtood, well armed in compariſone of the Engliſh. He ſaid, That the Scots ſeem'd afraid, when they ſhould come to action, of the Engliſh running away from them on their fleet horſes; and it

[1] Robert Douglas, brother to Douglas of Freeland, commanded the Fourth Troop of Horse, levied by Winton and Kenmure on the southern side of the Forth. He signalised himself by passing, more than once, in disguise betwixt the southern Insurgents and the Earl of Mar, also by his dexterity in searching the country for arms and horses, which (says Patten) "some were pleased to say was a trade he had followed out of the Rebellion as well as in it." He behaved well at Preston, and, after being taken with the others, had the luck to escape from the jail at Liverpool.

was impoſſible it could happen otherwiſe, for thoſe who have no armes, and have means of getting off by the fleetneſs of their horſes, will and muſt doe it; or, if they be ſhut up in a toun, without armes, will diſcourage thoſe who have armes. While we were talking of this Douglas return'd. We ſpoke out to him what his younge friend had told us, who, it ſeems, he had not inſtructed well enough. He, finding it was ſo, ouned all, and aſkt us for Highland ſuords; Rollo made him a preſent of one, for none of us had anie toſpare; but, above all, intreated us not to tell Huntley anything, for Mar had caution'd, if Huntley ſpoke to him, to call the hundreds who had joyn'd them thouſands; a ſtrange way of cutting a man's throat everie where, tho' Huntley was, at that time, not in the leaſt uneaſie. No doubt Douglas had orders to augment our numbers to the Engliſh, who, I muſt not forget to doe juſtice to for their good order, and followiug their hounds, on their marche, as was then told us. I could not hinder myſelf from ſaying a ſhort Litanie to myſelf, "From ane affair founded on lyes, ſuch a generall, ſuch officers, ſuch armies, and ſuch order, Good God deliver me!"

I can ſuear I never mention'd this to Huntley till at Gordon Caſtle in the North. The next thing that was done, was the ſending Lord George Murray to Dumfermling to leavie that ceſs, which thoſe ſent before had left undone; he had nothing but Highland foot under his command, and his regiment being weak, the Duke of Athole's vaſſalls deſerting home daylie, who, beſides the naturell inconſtancie of thoſe people, were diſtracted betuixt the father and the ſons, Indernitie was either ſent alonge with him, or folloued him ſoon after with his regiment, which by this time was diminiſht by deſertion, which was the caſe of the whole; he took poſt in the Abbay, and took prittie good precautions not to be ſerved the ſame as thoſe there before him, being wiſe at others expence. We were told the dragoons came to pay him a viſit, but finding him on his guarde, were not further troubleſome. As to the ceſs, he levied it very effectuallie, and keept five hundred pound ſterling for his oun uſe. When the ennemie made their laſt attempt on this place, my Lady Erſkine of Alva, whoſe houſe was on the high road betuixt that and Stirveling, and had a watchful eye on everie thing that paſſed that way, ſent Lord George Murray

the advertiſement of their marcheing towards him; but her ſervant getting in to the toun, without being challenged by anie ſentrie, ſhe wrote a letter to a friend of my Lord Mar's, deſireing him to tell his Lordſhip of the negligence of our folks; and wiſht heartilie we might take exemple from the ennemie, who, while they were takeing away her corn and ſtraw, had placed ſentries on all the paſſages of the hills, within tuo miles of her houſe, which, ſhe ſaid, was, that they might not be ſurpriſed, and made juſter reflections on their good order then I had ever heard any of our gentlemen make. I mention this to ſhew that the very women judged better then our men, whoſe heads were turned, and were not alloued to think or ſpeak but as Mar and his creatures would have them. This lady had takne the ſame care to advertiſe thoſe who formerlie were ſurpriſed in that toun, but her ſervant unluckilie fell in to the hands of the dragoons in the dark, and they made uſe of him as a guide to bring them nere the toun.

The Clans being now with us, we forgot to marche to paſs the Forth, and reprived the Duke of Argyle, till my Lord Seaforth, Sir Donald Mackdonald,[1] and Frazer,[2] joynd us; who we were expecting every day, as we had done ſix weeks, or rather tuo months before, and no greater appearance of his comeing nou than was then; but now we were charmed with Pearth, and more ſatiffied with it then ever, and were not in the leaſt impatient about Seaforth's comeing, who we rather excuſed, and ſaid he was comeing, but had been doeing wonders. One would ſuore that his ſhape[3] had created a ſympathie betuixt him and Mar, if we had not known it was by antipathie he wrought, and was intirelie acted; for he was ſtill jealous of Huntlie after all he had done him, and thought there

[1] Of Sleat, ancestor of Lord Macdonald, and Chief of that part of the Sept who acknowledge descent from Donald Gorme.

[2] Alexander Mackenzie, Younger of Prestonhall, assumed the name of Frazer of Frazerdale, on his marriage with Anne, eldest daughter of Hugh, Lord Lovat. He brought out the Clan Frazer into the Rebellion, but the celebrated Simon Frazer, afterwards Lord Lovat, taking the side of Government, the Clan came over to him, as the heir-male and proper Chief, and deserted Frazerdale.

[3] Seaforth, as well as Mar, was somewhat deformed.

was no furer way of keeping him under, then by commending the one who he had no fear of, and running doun the other, and by that creating a jealouſie betuixt them; no difficult thing amongſt Highland Princes, who, tho' there be no equallitie, and admit of no compariſon, aſpire always to a ſuperioritie, eſpeciallie if they be nere neighbours, and have the title of Lords, and then they are hereditarie rivalls; tho' it can't be ſaid Seaforth's familie or honours has entitled him longe to that, for the firſt time Mackenzie of Kintaile was heard of, was his being baillie of a ſteuartrie to Earle Southerland, the reigne of James Fifth; houever it's certain, it's but reflecting on one Clan or Chief to gain the favour of the other, and, vice verſa, but praiſeing the one to looſe the other; and the more unreaſonablie it's done, the greater the reſentment to him who thinks himſelf injured, and the greater the obligation to him who muſt own he's favour'd.

It was ſaid now, in Seaforth's vindication, contrarie to our ordinarie pollitique of denying bad neus, that Southerland[1] was landed, and had headed ſeverall little Clans of the countrie, who, joyn'd to his oun, made a good bodie, but far inferior to Seaforth and Sir Donald Mack-Donald, either in numbers or goodneſs of men; and that Seaforth, who was painted to us [as] a lyon, or a little Alexander, would ſoon mumble him; and Duffus, who had all the Caithneſs men alreadie at his devotion, would bring off thoſe of Southerland and Murrey at one pull, for he had promiſes of all, after his Chief, the Earle of Southerland, was chaſſed away, or takne, which would not coſt much trouble; and this would bring us, in all, with the Frazers, above five thouſand foot, and ſeverall hundreds of horſe, which, to ſay truth, was no contemptible matter. Beſides that reaſon of Mar's not being afraid of Seaforth, and his giveing ſuch ſuperlative commendations to ſet him up in oppoſition to Huntley, by atributing, publicklie and privatelie, to the one what he took from the other, his buſineſs was further

[1] John, fifteenth Earl of Sutherland, materially assisted the cause of George I, by landing in his own county of Sutherland and raising his followers, with those of Lord Reay, in the rear of Mar's army. The Munroes, Gunns, and other Clans, composed his little army.

to elevate them, with the expectation of ſo great a man, and ſo full of fire, and make them hope that there was almoſt another ſuch hero as himſelf in him, a caracter which did not ſute any of the Lords with us, in ſpite of his commiſſions, for we had known them too longe, and the mettle they were made of; and, according to the ſaying, It's hard haveing a value for that ſtatue we knew firſt in a block. Houever, they ſtill filled up ſo many places, and continued to be very uſefull to him, and he no leſs kind to them. We were not longe without hearing the Earle of Southerland was priſoner, and his following routed and diſarmed, except ſuch who would follow Duffus; but theſe onlie ſerved to arm the others better, for we did not deſire ſuch vaſt numbers. Lord Strathnaver, ſon to my Lord Southerland, was beſieged in his caſtell of Dunrobin, which would not hold out many days, and then Seaforth would be with us. Sometime after, it was alloued Southerland was not priſoner, and that he had got in to a man-of-war. Whether Southerland went to attack Seaforth, or Seaforth him, I won't be poſitive, but they came within a ſhort mile of one another, nere Anes; at which time the MackDonalds, I mean Sir Donald and his brothers, who were there with eight or nine hundred men, propoſed to my Lord Seaforth to attack him, and on his refuſeing, begged Seaforth would allou them to engage him with their Clan alone, and he ſhould look on with his MackKenzies; but he would not grant them that favour neither, but delayed it till nixt day. In the mean time Southerland diſcover'd his fault, for his number was not equall to theirs, nor are his men thought ſo good, eſpeciallie as the MackDonalds; and being in a corner betuixt the Cromartie Frith and a river, had they attackt him, he, and all with him, muſt been priſoners, or cut to pieces, made his retreat in the night, diſperſed his men, and went himſelf into a man-of-war: Finding he was not able to keep the field, or fight them, thought he did enough if he hinder'd their joyning us; for Seaforth and his vaſſalls pretended they could not leave the countrie till he was reduced, fearing, in their abſence, his plundering their houſes. The next remedie was, they threatned to plunder his territories, and upon that a capitulation was made betuixt Seaforth and Southerland's vaſſalls, that neither ſhould plunder. God knous of what conſideration that was in regarde to his looſeing his all, and

us with him. Houever he came off in triumph, marched to Invernes, where he proclaim'd the King, left Sir John Mackenzie in the old ruinous citadell to drink to the peace of the Countrie, and did no more then he could have done tuo months before. Let mankind judge, if our heros that we had all our dependance on, were ſuch, what muſt the others be? The nearer he came to us the more the name of the thouſands Duffus was to bring to us vaniſht; but, in revenge, his great number was ſtill keept up. And, for fear people ſhould ſuppoſe that the Grants, a numerous Clan, about eight hundred men, might joyn Southerland, in obedience to their Chief, who was Brigadeer[1] in the Duke of Argyle's armie, it was told publicklie, but under ſecrecie, that Grant of Elchies, who had more influence on the Clan then their Chief, had been privatelie in Pearth with Mar, and undertakne to bring them all to us; which was as true as all our other reports, but as little to be doubted of: And James Fercharſon, one of Mar's Aide-de-camps, ſuore to me, he ſaw and ſpoke with him; which I did not believe one word of, and told him no leſs, knouing that this, and all his other Aide-de-camps, were his principall knights of the poſt, and had got commiſſions of Majors, God knous how worthie, and [were paid and fed for it,] and were at ſame time exempted from all ſervice and dutie, like the Lords, that they might be the more aſſiduous, and at greater freedom to ſerve him in that ſtation.

Seaforth being in full marche towards us, and, after his comeing, our Generall prudentlie foreſeeing there would be no further excuſe for ſtaying longer at Pearth, and that there would be a neceſſitie of marcheing or makeing a feint, in ten days or a fortnight at fartheſt, begun to think it was nou the proper time to fortifie Pearth, I mean, make lines about it; and being of a Sunday morning in Mar's anti-chamber, where all uſed to meet, Generall Hamilton aſkt me to walk with him when the others went to Church. So ſoon as they were gone, we went together without the toun, alonge the little ditch to the Iron Mill on the South Inch. In our goeing thither he ſent my ſervant back for a ſpade, and aſkt me, If I underſtood fortification? I ſaid, No; but that I had read as much as made me underſtand the terms of art, not to be ſo very ignorant as I had

[1] Alexander Grant of Grant, afterwards Governor of Inverness.

ſeen ſeverall officers, and make me comprehend things the better when in the trenches. He ſaid, He had a mind to make lines on that ſide of the toun. I anſuer'd, I wiſht they had been ſooner begun, becauſe we'd had more time to made them good. I added, That it was not my fault that they were not begun before my Lord Mar or he came into Pearth; for all that were then in toun could bear me witneſs that I ſpoke of no other thing for three-four days together after my comeing into Pearth, and that I had traced a fleſh [fleche], or rather raveline, in that individual place, and that I was to make a horn-work on that high ground, nere that poſt that leads to the Bridge of Iern, which commands the toun as well as the plain about; and that it would been no great trouble after that to joyn'd the tuo; and that I had cut all the trees that grew about the toun, and ſplit them in palliſades, and now they were all burnt by thoſe of the poſt-guarde; that after a great ſtruggle with thoſe who pretended to be great men then in toun, I had got three hundred workmen, and had them at the Iron Mill, where we then ſtood, to ſet them to work, but finding Collonell Hay, old Collonell Balfour, and Major Balfour, who all pretended to great knouledge of thoſe affairs, ſo averſe to it, and being often told by Collonell Hay it was diſcourageing of people who thought themſelves ſtronglie poſted without that, I diſmiſſed the workmen, ſaying, That I found a neceſſitie of being foole with fooles. All this had been told Mar and Generall Hamilton, and he kneu I had inſiſted on it, even after Mar and he came to Pearth. I underſtood it then, that was his reaſon for takeing me out with him, and aſking me, If I knew fortification? and, for the ſame reaſon, I told him that ſuch lines as we could then make, depended more on judgement then any great regularitie or art; that I had then offer'd my ſervice to advance the work, till a better ſhould come, that in the meantime nothing might be neglected. He took out a pack-threed clew out of his pocket, and bid my footman get him tuo-three ſtakes of wood. He ſplite as much with his broadſuord, of what he had tore from the roof of the iron mill, and brought them to him: And, after traceing the tuo faces of a fleche or raveline with the ſtakes and pack-threed, he made the footman cut a ſmall gutter with a ſpade, all alonge where the pack-threed run. I told him then, when he was placeing the ſtakes, that he made the fleche too little, for it could not hold above fiftie

or fixtie men; and that fleche being in the middle of the plaine, it would require to be a great dale larger, to flank the lines the better; and the greater he made his fleche, the fhorter the lines which joyns it to any other work, and ferves inftead of courtines, would be, except he had a mind to make more little fleches on that plaine; and thofe it's not alloued in a regular fortification to place nearer than fixtie fathoms, which in lines I never faw done, becaufe I imagin'd being low we might doe harm to one another. This I told him, according to my weak judgement; but he not feeming to hearkne to it, I let it fall, and we return'd to Mar's quarters, where he called for pen and ink, and, as if he had found out a thing of confequence, drew a draught of that fleche, and the lines for a great way of each fide of it. That night workmen were commanded out of the countrie, for our Highlandmen, or thofe at Pearth, would work none. Thefe workmen came in nixt day at ten of the clock.

About that time Mar was to ride out to take the air, and Generall Hamiltone, with a great many of his Court, went alonge in his fuite. Hamiltone fent tuice to me, before he took horfe, to bid me get all the workmen together, and fet them to work at the fleche, as my footman had traced it the day before, and he would be with me foon, and fent me his draught, as if it had been of ufe to make a fleche alreadie marked out. I, like a foole, who is glade to be imployed in any ftation which he fancies he can be the leaft ferviceable in, run out in hafte, got the fellous together, and fet them to work, and was no fooner begun then Mar, Hamiltone, and all the fuite came. The Generall found fault inftantlie, before them all; jumped doun from his horfe, raifed the ftakes which had been left there, took no notice of the gutter traced betuixt them, and made the fleche tuo foot larger. I was furprifed, and told him it was his oun doeing, and were I to have any hand in it I'd make that fleche three times larger at leaft, and went away; not doubting it was a trick of Mar's, which he had made the Generall put upon me, becaufe I had infifted fo ftronglie on fortiefieing that place, and had not dropt it, yea, fpoke to Mar himfelf about it after he came to Pearth. After this Hamiltone feem'd to look after it for a day or tuo, but foon wearied of it, and, to our eternall fhame, left the direction of the whole to

a French fellow, who had been a footman of Beaufort's, and had takne up the trade of being a danceing and fenceing maſter in the North, who made the ſtrangeſt line that ever was made, which ſerved for no other uſe but the jeaſt of the ennemie's armie; nor had the fellow ſenſe enough to face it up, ſuch as it was, ſo that a man could lay his breaſt to it, or did he know to make a foot-bank, as I have been told by ſeverall Suiſſe officers ſince; tho' it came all to the ſame, for the froſt, and want of time, would hinder'd the perfiteing of it, being ſo late of beginning.

I am not at all ignorant that laying aſide the diſadvantage of ſituation, it would been no eaſie matter to fortifie Pearth, ſo as to defend a longe ſiege, for that is a work of art, expence, and time, and not done by the greateſt Princes in a feu days; but it's certain it was in our powers to contrived it ſo as oblidged the enemie to break ground before it, and coſt them trouble and men in the takeing it. By makeing the horn-work I propoſed to take in that high ground; and placeing our cannon there, which could be of no uſe to us any where elſe, and carrieing on our lines with fleches, at reaſonable diſtances, doun to the river ſide; and on the other ſide of the horn-work joyning it with lines to the old wall of the toun, which might been eaſilie brought doun to breaſt high, and made proof of cannon, by earth and faſcines behind it; makeing ravelines before the ports to cover them, without which there was nothing to be done at all, and makeing ſtronge barriers and traverſes croſs the ſtreets behind theſe ports, and palliſadeing all the new work; which, I ſuppoſe, by faſcines, was to be made proof of cannon, and high enough to have hutted behind our lines and walls; for we could not have remparts ſo high as not to expect the toun muſt in a few days been laid in rubbiſh; ſomething like this we ought to have done, if our hearts had bore the leaſt proportion to our tongues and big talking.

But the way Generall Hamiltone went to work, tho' he had perfited his lines by leaving out that high ground, they had been ſo raked that a mouſe could not lived in his lines, which any man who had ſix grains of judgement ſaw at firſt view; and they were ſo nere to the little water ditch that no number of men could have ſtood in them to defend them; ſo that it was eaſie to comprehend our Generalls avoided deſigndlie and with care

the beginning to doe any thing that could have been of defence, leaſt their precipitate flight ſhould have been found diſgraceful, ſo longe as there was a poſſibilitie of ſtanding, and for that reaſon were reſolved to put the whole under the abſolute neceſſitie of running away with them, when they found convenient to make their eſcape. But, till things were ripe for that, their weak countriemen were to be amuſed by ſham fortifieing; which, in effect, after makeing the buſtle at our expence, was of the ſame nature with ſome other of their actions, rather providentlie contriveing excuſes to get rid of us than expedients to ſerve us.

About this time we fell to work to make carriages for our cannon, which we had pickt up in ſeverall places, to the number of eleven field-pieces, ſix of which were braſs, and five iron; and all theſe, tho' we had neither pouder nor ball, were to goe alonge with us when we marched, which time drew near, for Seaforth and Sir Donald MacDonald, being in a feu days' marche of us, there was no pretence to ſhift or delay it longer. Their numbers, till the day we ſaw them, continued to be near four thouſand foot and ſome hundreds of horſe, beſides Frazerdale's, with his Clan of Frazers, which were augmented proportionallie; and were onlie in all ſeven hundred Macdonalds, about the ſame number of Mackenzies, and four hundred Frazers, and fortie ſcrub horſe of ſervants, and others from about Inverneſs, who came alonge with Seaforth; and the great Duffus came in his train, on a Galloway of thirtie ſhillings, as poor as he went North, no bodie haveing takne the leaſt notice of him, of all thoſe thouſands he propoſed to bring out, vented his reſentment againſt none ſo much as the Sinclairs of Caithneſs, who, he ſaid, were all raſcalls; and, as I was told afterwards, had been ſo coldly receaved, that he had been in no houſe of that countie but a widow ladie's, and tuo gentlemen's, of the name of Southerland.

But, leaſt we had ſeen the end of our expectations, Linlithgow was ſent to proclaime, in all companies, that ſix hundred Low Countriemen, out of the Earle of Errol's intreſt, were to come to him, becauſe he had married his ſiſter; and this I was ear witneſs to oftner than once, and heard Mariſhall, who was nighbour to Erroll, confirm it, and that they were all extreamlie well armed; when there was no ſuch thing,

nor one word of the whole true. The ſame Peer was order'd to give out that he had receaved letters from thoſe of Monteith, offering their ſervice to him, being vaſſalls to the Duke of Montroſs, becauſe he was his Grace's relation, and that he had order'd them to meet us in our marche towards Stirveling.

Now all hands were ſet to work about bringing in meale to ſerve us in our marche; but hou that meale was to be carried, or where we were to marche, we did not know. To paſs at Stirveling was impoſſible; the Foords of Forth was the common ſtorie, but I never heard of anie man of our armie who knew any thing of thoſe foords except Rob Roy,[1] who, they themſelves ſaid, they could not truſt; and tho' they could, all they were to depend on him for was, that he had paſſed theſe foords with Highland cattle, without takeing narrow inſpection of the entries or outlets; and no man but ane officer could make a judgement of the advantages or diſ-advantages of the grounds in theſe paſſes, which might be more difficult then the foords: Nor was it to be expected that the Duke of Argyle, who had ſurveyed theſe foords and paſſages narroulie, and ſpoilt the foords by digging, and putting great beams in them, with iron pikes, would let us paſs them undiſturb'd without diſputeing the matter; haveing it always in his pouer to be there before us, after we had gone higher then Stirveling, where he had nothing to fear, if he left tuo hundred men to defend the bridge: Beſides, it was ſaid he had made lines on all the fords;[2] which is not to be doubted he did, if he found them practicable, for we gave him

[1] The celebrated Rob Roy Macgregor, a freebooter, about whom so much has been said and sung; his attachment to the Jacobite cause was rather overbalanced by his dependence on the Duke of Argyle, who maintained and sheltered him to vex and harass the Duke of Montrose. In a letter to Marshal Wade, after the war was over, honest Rob owns that his inclination induced him to join the King's troops, but that, afraid of imprisonment, he had been compelled to join the rebels; a false step, for which he endeavoured to atone by rendering to the Duke of Argyle, from time to time, during the Insurrection, information of the strength and motions of the rebels.—See Jamieson's Edition of Burt's Letters from the North of Scotland, vol. ii, Appendix.

[2] It is singular that with so many men in the army from Monteith and the Lennox, they seemed to have been unable to ascertain the real state of these Fords.

time enough to take all his precautions; or, if the ground was ſuch that there was no paſſing but by force of fire, and attacking, and being repulſed and attacking again, we were not to expect that of our Highlandmen, whoſe buſſineſs, all know, is not to ſtand fire; and if the firſt were repulſed, the others, without further enquirie, would goe to the divill, eventho' they had not been in want of armes. Moſt ſeem'd to agree that theſe foords were onlie paſſable when the river was low, which we could not expect to find in that ſeaſon of the year. Another obvious difficultie aroſe, the enemie haveing cut the bridge of Doun, not far from Stirveling, our onlie way to the Foords of Forth; nor could we pretend to paſs that river which is called the Teith, and rather worſe to paſs then the Forth, as all who knew it ſaid. At other times we talkt of goeing by the Heads of Forth, but ſtill that river of Teith was in our way, nor could we paſſed it had we tents to ly out ſo many days marche in that ſeaſon of the year, in a wild barren countrie, where there was no manner of cover or proviſions, which we had not induſtrie enough to provide or lay up before hand in Pearth, much leſs to carrie alonge with us. On that conſideration, I went officiouſlie to my Lord Mar, and told him, That I thought it wronge to be dragging ſo many cannon after us, without haveing pouder or ball for them, ſince they muſt take up the greateſt part of our horſes to no purpoſe, that might be imploy'd in carrieing our proviſions, when we wanted them ſo much for that uſe. He receaved me civillie, and anſuer'd ſmileing, and ſaid, That ſo many cannon would give us a name and ſtrick terrour. I told him, It was true; but tuo was all we could need, if we had pouder and ball, in caſe any pretended to keep out ane old caſtle againſt us; for had we had pouder, ball, and cannoniers, cannon never was, or ever will be, of uſe amongſt Highlandmen, who don't goe ſo regularlie or ſloulie to work, ſo as to give time to make uſe of them; nor could we flatter ourſelves to carrie thoſe cannon either to the Foords or Heads of Forth, as they called them, haveing ſo much moraſs and ſo many hills to paſs. But he acted in that of a piece with himſelf, ſince a name and noiſe was all he fought.

Seaforth came at laſt, with Sir Donald MacDonald and Frazerdale. We marched a day or tuo after, a la bonne avanture, the blind leading the blind, not knowing whither we were goeing, or what we were to doe.

Before this time Mar ſent his third meſſage to France, in as private a way as he ſent the former. He made choice of one of his truſtie aide-de-camps, Charles Forbes, a fellow who had been a pedling merchant, and had been in priſon for tuentie pound, not longe before our riſeing; the very ſame who was the ingeneer at the Caſtle, and had acquited himſelf ſo well on that occaſion that he was thought worthie of further truſt. He was ten days gone before any knew of it, and when it was known, it was given out that Mar had ſent him away becauſe he doubted his giveing intelligence to the enemie; a mightie good reaſon for being at the expence of ſending a ſhip to France.

The firſt day's marche we of the horſe cantooned about Dinnen, and the foot in and about Auchterarduch. That night all the Frazers deſerted us, hearing of Beaufort's being arrived in the North, their other Chief, whome they owned preferable to Frazerdale, whoſe title to them was by marrieing ane heireſs. Tuo hundred of my Lord Huntlie's beſt men, who were under the command of Glenbucket, deſerted us, as his Lordſhip ſaid, becauſe they had been deſignedlie more oppreſſed with dutie than any other. That firſt night of our cantoonment, orders were ſent to us to be, by break of day next morning, in the moor of Auchterarduch, where Mar revieued us, and all our armie drew up in tuo lines, and afterwards returned to our quarters. In this revieu there were ſquabbles about the poſts of our ſquadrons, and [we] were never ſo conſtant in any thing as our being diſorderlie. I never ſcrupled takeing what place the firſt who came bid me, tho', as I have alreadie ſaid, I thought the rank of the countie I commanded was none of the worſt titles, and my being the firſt ſquadron at Pearth was ſtill ſomewhat. But Mariſhall and ſome others did not know what rank they would have, and were not pleaſ'd with their own choiſe, as if they were diſcontented to be on the ſame ſurface with Rollo and me, who would been glade to hid our ſelves under ground rather then incur the diſpleaſure of Lords, ſo fierce Generalls, on a day of revieu. We halted there all next day, nor did I ſtir from my command. In the evening we receav'd orders to parade in Auchterarduch moor before day, which we did. So ſoon as I came to the parade, my Lord Mar ſent for me, and told me, That I and the Fife ſquadron were the occaſion of

the armie's not marcheing the day before. I ſaid, He ſurpriſed me, nor could I conceive how that could be, for I and that ſquadron were always readie to obey orders, and we had keept at our quarters all that day. Then he told me, That my Lord Huntlie and the Clans, who were to marche before, in a ſeparate body, had refuſed to marche, except he'd order me and the Fife ſquadron alonge with them. I told him, I knew nothing of the matter; and that it was the ſame to me, as well as to the gentlemen, where or with whome we were to marche. He ſaid, It was now reſolved I ſhould goe alonge with them, to pleaſe them; and likewiſe ſaid, He believed I had ane influence on Huntlie; and ſpoke preſſinglie to me to encourage him. I anſuer'd, I was not well acquainted with my Lord Huntlie, but that I would doe all that depended on me; nor had I then the honour of his Lordſhip's intimacie.

I joyn'd the Clans, who, by this time, were beginning their marche. They conſiſted of Sir Donald MacDonald's, Captain of Clan Ronald's, Glengarie's, Glencoe's followings, all MacDonalds, Bredalbins, the MacCleans, the Camerons, Steuart of Apins, and the few that were left of Huntlie's Strathdoun and Glenlivet men, who had not deſerted, for the greateſt part of them had gone home. All were under the command of Generall Gordon, as I was likwiſe with the three ſquadrons which I commanded, Huntlie's tuo, and the Fife ſquadrons. I marched on the front with the horſe, haveing detached tuo avant guards; and the foot followed. The groſs of our armie, under the command of Mar and Generall Hamiltone, were to follow us ſoon after, to cantoon that night at Arduch, and we were to take poſt at Dumblaine, eight miles further. It was then the tuelft day of November. We continued in full marche till three of the afternoon; about which time our Quarter-Maſters, who had left us a little before, came back with a lame boy, who had run as hard as he could to tell us that the Duke of Argyle was marcheing through Dumblaine, with his whole armie, towards us, and ſaid the Ladie Kippendavie[1] had ſent him, whoſe huſband was in the armie with us. I order'd him to be carried to Generall Gordon, who was on the head of the foot; which being done, the Generall came inſtantlie

[1] Stirling of Kippendavie, whose house is not distant from the field of battle.

up to me, and my Lord Huntlie with him; they aſkt my ſentiment. I ſaid, I was under a great difficultie what to ſay, becauſe it would look mean to halt ſuch a bodie of men on a fooliſh boy's ſtorie, and yet it was dangerous not to give credite to him; becauſe, if we continued our march, and they theirs, we ſhould ſoon fall in with them, for they were not above four miles diſtant from us, and I did not think it was our buſſineſs to engage with them, ſince the groſs of our armie was ſo far behind; at the ſame time it was abſolutlie neceſſarie to advertiſe Mar, in all haſt, of the intelligence we had got, and ſend ſome horſe out to reconnoitre, and bring us ſure information; in the mean time the Generall might doe as he thought fit. Upon this the Generall ſent ane expreſs to Mar, and I detached half a dozen of the horſe to goe as nere to Dumblaine as poſſible, to reconnoitre the enemie; and Gordon order'd me to halt and draw up the horſe, and ordered the foot to doe the ſame, the boy ſtill affirming he had ſeen the enemie, and ſaying, he was ſatiſfied to be hanged if we did not find it ſo.

We had no ſooner halted then Peter Smith, the ſame who was Coll. Hay's great adviſer in Pearth, formerlie a ſurgeon in the armie, and made enſigne in Douglas regiment after the peace, and nou our Quartermaſter-Generall, no other being willing to ſtand the Highlandmen's drubbing, and accept of it, came to Generall Gordon, and told him, that his orders from Mar were to take up our quarters in Dumblaine, and that it was a ſhame to halt. I always lookt on him as ane out of the way, ignorant, noiſie fellow, but was ſtunned at his impudence, haveing been nothing but a ſurgeon, to pretend to ſpeak to a Generall after that manner; and aſkt him, Why he did not put thoſe orders in execution, and what hindred him from takeing up the quarters at Dumblain? Houever this man, who did not pretend to adviſe ane enſigne in the armie, had influence on the Generall, and he order'd us to marche on, and the foot folloued. As we were thus in motion, we met ſeverall of the countrie people, who ſaid the generall report was, that the Duke of Argyle was of this ſide Dumblain; and now it was beginning to be dark, and we had marched a mile from the place we halted, when I told Generall Gordon, who rid alonge with me all the while, That it would be of very bad conſequence at any time to ſtumble in our marche, in the dark, on the Duke of Argyle's whole armie, which

muſt be alreadie poſted in ſome ſtronge ground, otherwiſe we muſt heard more of them, but of the worſt of conſequences at preſent, when the great bodie of our armie was at ſuch a diſtance from us. It was true our intelligence was not intirelie to be depended upon, but if he would think what might follow upon his not giveing credite to it, he would not ballance one minute, ſince Countrie, honour, eſtates, and lives, might be loſt by a faux-pas of that kind; when, on the other hand, ſuppoſe the intelligence not to be true, all they could ſay was we acted a cautious part; and let them ſay we were affraid, who was to care for what rogues or fools ſaid, if we but ſatiſfied our oun reaſon.

Upon this we drew up again on a riſeing ground in the moor, and thoſe we had ſent to reconnoitre returned, telling that they had heard of the enemie, but it turning dark, they did not care to venture for fear of being kidnapt; amongſt thoſe was the Quartermaſter-Generall, Mr Smith, who had folloued the reconnoiterers. Next thing to be thought of was to take up ſome ſtronge ground, where we were to be under armes all that night, or till we heard from my Lord Mar; for now it was to be ſuppoſed that the enemie were poſted of this ſide of Dumblaine, and could not be above tuo miles from us. We were alſo to think of our horſes, which could not be fit for anie buſſieneſs next day, if we were not near to ſome farm-houſe whence fourage could be got. I propoſed to Generall Gordon to paſs the river of Allen, which was within tuo hundred yards of our right, as we were then drawn up, and told him, That I had obſerved ſome very good barn-yards on the other ſide before it grew duſkiſh; for it was not yet dark. I aſſured him it would be the ſafeſt, and that I was informed there was a foord hard by. He ſaid, It would ruine the foot, who were to lie out a whole froſtie night, to make them paſs a river. I propoſed to carrie them over with the horſe, and then to draw up behind the river, and ground our armes in order, and poſt guards on all the foords, and avoide diſorder and ſurpriſe. He anſuer'd, He'd goe and ſee what was to be done; and rid off, with tuo-three more with him, and at laſt found a little hollow, hard by, on the river ſide, where there were tuo little farme-houſes and corn-yards. He came back, and led us thither. He gave me a guide

to lead the horſe into the ground allotted for them, who carried us doun a hollow way, which leads to the houſes, and told me it was the Generall's orders to put our horſes into thoſe caile-yards, which he ſheu'd us, to which we could find no entrie but through the houſes; ſo I lighted, and with my oun hands broke doun the walls, the louer part made with drie ſtone, and above with turf or faile. The firſt yard not being able to containe us, we broke doun the next wall, and did ſo with another, till the three ſquadrons got place. Theſe yards made the bottom of the hollow; all the ground about had a ſudden riſe from the houſes and yards, for tuo hundred paces, except toward the north, where we were hard upon the river, which was behind us; for it can't be properlie ſaid we had front or rear, more than it can be ſaid of a barrell of herrings. In this uneven ground, with a hollow way in it, to better the matter, were we packt in, and all the foot round us, almoſt as much ſtraitned as we. What the Generall did that lookt at all like a ſojer, was to call for a horſe-guarde, to ſend patrouiles a good way round us.

I, with the gentlemen of the horſe, took up one of thoſe houſes, and the Marquiſe of Huntlie, Generall Gordon, and the Heads of Clans, took up the other. We were not longe got in when Southeſque came with the Angus ſquadron, and told me of Mar, with the whole armie's following us; and Mar came ſoon after him, which was then about nine of the clock, for we had takne a longe time to ſettle all in that confuſion in the dark. His Lordſhip of Mar had gone to dine at my Lord Drummond's houſe, ſome diſtance from the armie, at Arduch, where our expreſs found him. So ſoon as he lighted, he came into that houſe which I had takne up. I remember that when he came in, Southeſque, and his uncle, Alexander Maitland, and I, were like to turn hot, becauſe they would give nobodie out of their ſquadron to relieve the out-guard; which ceaſ'd ſo ſoon as Mar came in, he aſking what was the matter. He turned to me after, and aſkt, What intelligence we had got? Which I told him. He treated it with ane air of neglect, as if he had a mind to accuſe us of fear; and ſaid, he'd lay anie monie that it was not true. Afterwards he called for Generall Gordon, who came alonge with Huntlie. And when the Generall told him the ſame, he ſaid, He knew the contrarie; and to this

there was no anſwer to be made: His Lordſhip would have it ſo, becauſe he thought it looked bold, or to gaine credite by giveing himſelf the air of haveing good intelligence, and as if he, lying in his bed, or drinking his bottle at a diſtance, could learn more, and judge better then anie of us, tho' in the noſe of the enemie. My Lord Huntlie return'd, and took me alonge with him, and I left my quarters to Mar. I ſcrambled about after that to ſee our ſituation, and heard everie bodie admire the ſtrength of the place, and the contrivance of it, but found the Highlandmen ſo rude that I was glade to get out from among them; and, paſſing where Mar was, I heard that freſh intelligence was come, confirming the former meſſage. I run to hear what was ſaid, and finding it to the ſame purpoſe with the former, and that it was ane old woman, ſent by the ſame ladie, returned out of the croude, after hearing Glengarie ſay, That he'd lay his life that ſince the Duke of Argyle was come out, he'd give us battle next morning. After that I laid me doun in the ſtraw, betuixt Captain of Clan Ronald and Sir John MacClean, and ſleept till day.

All that night did our armie ly in that ſmall circumference; and I believe eight thouſand men, for we were about that number, were never packt up ſo cloſe together ſince the invention of pouder; and I can take it upon me to defie the moſt ingenious ingeneer, after a month's thinking, to contrive a place ſo fit for the deſtruction of men, without being in the leaſt capable to help themſelves. God knows, had we been attackt by any three regiments of foot, poſted on the high grounds about, they had cut us to pieces, or drove us into the river, which was juſt behind, or, for what I know, not tuentie paces from us; nor could the moſt regular troops on earth extended their front out of that, or form in any order, ſo uneven the ground was, and ſo ſlippery with the froſt, that I did not eſcape in getting ſeverall falls for my curioſitie in looking to it. But by what rule horſe were to be put in within walls I never yet could learn, whence they could not get out but by defilleing, one by one, out of the breaches of the walls, and that with difficultie; and ſome had three of thoſe breaches to paſs, and after that all had another defille to paſs, the hollow way which we came doun. Houever, that night, we had the good luck not to be diſcover'd by the enemie, as I have been ſince

told, any more than if we had been all buried; and the ground is ſtill admired, which I could forgive Coſſacks, Calmucks, or Tartars, to doe, againſt whom our Generall ſerved in the infancie of the Muſcovite ſervice. But even thoſe would not have been ſo ignorant as to put a river ſo cloſe in their rear, and, rather as done ſo, would have gone of[f] from it intirelie.

Next morning, by ſix of the clock, we drew out of that ground, and formed in tuo lines, in the plaine, above that place where we had lyen that night. At ſun-riſeing we diſcover'd a command of horſe[1] on the high ground to the ſouth of us, at a good mile's diſtance, which appear'd to us a ſtronge ſquadron; even then we pretended to paſs the river of Teith, in order to try the Heads of Forth or the Foords, tho' it was believed the Foords were render'd impaſſible by the enemie, and agreed to by all, that neither the Teith nor the Forth were to be paſſed at that ſeaſon of the year, the rivers being ſo high; nor, without theſe obſtacles, had we anie more proviſions left to ſerve us one day's marche in a countrie where nothing was to be got for ourſelves or horſes, ſo all that was poſſible for us to have done was to marche three-four miles further to the Teith, and return, ſtarved, back to Pearth. So ſoon as that command of the enemie's horſe appear'd, reconnoitrers were ſent out; they came back and told us the enemie were all about the incloſures of Kippendavie. After this we loſt a great dale of time. I believe his Lordſhip of Mar, who did not expect the enemie, not knowing what hand to turn himſelf to, and being then conſcious of his want of abilitie for ſuch ane undertakeing, was ſtunned, finding there was ſomething more requiſite then lyes; for it was not with us he was to have to doe, it was with the enemie, and blows muſt decide it.

While our Generall, as well as we, were thus uncertaine, I went and put Huntley's tuo ſquadrons in the beſt order I could, and went afterwards to the head of the Fife ſquadron, where my Lord Huntlie found me. He took me aſide and told me, He was not of opinion we ſhould marche further; becauſe, he ſaid, if we ſhould paſs the Forth, the King, who we expected daylie, would be loſt, and all communication betuixt him and us cut off, and, for that reaſon, thought we ought to goe back to Auchterar-

[1] This was the Duke of Argyle's reconnoitring party, with which he advanced in person.

duch to waite the King's comeing. I told him, I differ'd from him, and had no ſuch apprehenſion as that of paſſing the Forth; for the Duke of Argyle's comeing out was the onlie thing could doe our buſſieneſs, and the onlie occaſion ever we could have to recover our liberties, or force the enemie to give us a peace on our old footing, I mean'd, to get home again, and we were nou to think of ourſelves; for if we returned to Auchterarduch, the Highlandmen, who were alreadie deſerting daylie, would looſe courage and goe home, ſo that inevitablie we muſt be ruin'd, without haveing another occaſion either of ſerveing ourſelves or the King, and bring on ourſelves ane eternall infamie; and that we were by no means to go back, if it was poſſible to attack the Duke of Argyle, and, in that caſe, to marche ſtraight to him in order of battle; and, in the mean time, if we could think of a way to ſend ſome deputees to him, to aſk him, If he had full pouer to give us, and all concerned with us, terms? and if not, to tell him that we would fall upon him that moment, ſince we had no more left us for our all. What made us believe he had full pouer was ane intercepted letter of my Lord Townſend's to the Duke of Argyle, which Mr Forreſter had ſent to Mar, and which letter Huntlie had read. Huntlie ſent for my Lord Rollo and Major Balfour his uncle, and told them his propoſale; and I told them mine, and both went in to it, and Huntlie ſeem'd ſatiſfied with it himſelf, and ſaid he'd goe and propoſe to Glengarie and Sir John MacClean.

I'm ſatiſfied that many will blame me for ſuch a propoſale, but am very eaſie about it. I knew very well that if we did not get terms with our ſuords in our hands, we could never expect anie; for it was not to be imagin'd that the Highlanders would ſtay with us, a great many deſerting daylie, or if they did, that we could pay them longe; nor did thoſe who were keeneſt for Mar's project in the beginning, and before we came out, pretend that we were able to doe our work without England's riſeing and the help of France, and without the King's preſence, and generalls, officers, armes, and monie; all which, to bringe us out, we were made believe was either readie at our riſeing, or alreadie in the countrie. How oftne were we told of the King's being landed with the Duke of Berwick before our riſeing? and if all thoſe aides were thought abſolutlie

neceſſarie to us, in what condition was it naturale to us to think ourſelves in when we had not one of them, and nothing to depend upon but the words of one who we knew all his life to be the worſt of men? Who, becauſe he had now trickt us, had uſurped the command, which he was altogether incapable of, and which, before we came out, he durſt not pretend to. Nor was that all, for we had not ſo much as heard from the King; and ſome begun to think that the commiſſion Boyn brought was forged, ſince he knew nothing about the King; and even his choice of menſengers he ſent to France to keep us in ignorance, and neither returning, or writeing one ſcrape to us, ſeem'd very odd: But, above all, it was to be admired that the King, ſince he did not come himſelf, did not ſend one to let us know the reaſon, and how things were with him, and what we had to expect. Nou all that conſider'd, we had all the reaſon on earth to believe, that ſince we had been ſo mad to riſe without his orders, he would leave us to ourſelves, which we would never be let know till it was too late to remead, and haveing nothing to depend on but my Lord Mar's ſtories, whoſe veracite we knew but too well then, was a ſlender ſecuritie; not to ſpeak of the impoſſibilitie of our paſſing the Forth, which I have alreadie mention'd, and our being forced to return to Pearth, where the few that ſtay'd with us would ſoon eat themſelves up in a little time. Is it then any wonder that a man, who reaſon'd thus, and is a true lover of his countrie, was glade to make uſe of the firſt opportunitie to ſave it, when it was deſerted by all the world, and viſiblie betray'd by him to whom we gave ſo inconſideratlie the truſt, and even ſeem'd neglected by the Prince for whom it was to fall the ſacrifice? Nor doe I denay that I had no great expectation of the Highlandmen's ſtanding the fire of regular troopes, and, in all our affair, it was that which I was moſt deceaved in: and tho' we had more men, they had more fire armes in a condition to fire. I had ſerv'd longe enough to know what the few officers who were with us were capable of, and did not think, in my conſciens, that the countrie was to be riſqued on ſuch grounds if there was a poſſibilitie of avoideing it. But if there was nothing to be done with the Duke of Argyle, by giveing us abſolute ſecuritie, I ſaw very clearlie, we had no other chance for our Countrie, our lives, and honours, but attacking him wherever we could; becauſe,

after that day, the levitie of the Highlandmen would never give us another opportunitie, tho' I did not think that a victorie could [have] done our buſſieneſs, for it was not to be doubted, that victorious or beat, they'd goe home; but it was ſtill all we had for it.

To return to Huntlie: He went and ſpoke to Sir John MacClean and Glengarie, and I continued at my poſt, without diſcovering my ſentiments to anie bodie. Now it was paſt eleven of the clock before it ſeems our Generall took his reſolution, and I, as well as everie bodie at this moment, admire what he could be thinking of all that time, for it was not his part to make the diſpoſition, which was done ſoon; but there he was out of his element. Had he been ſcribling in his chamber at Pearth his reſolution had been ſoon takne, and orders ſent to the commanding officer to attack, right or wronge, without further conſideration.

At laſt all Lords, Commanders of Corps, and Heads of Clans, were called for to a little round ſpot of riſeing ground betuixt our lines, where Mar ſtood. Being all met, his Lordſhip, to doe him juſtice, which I think I am oblidged in conſciens to doe, it being the onlie good action of his life, made us a very fine ſpeech; where he laid out to us the injuſtice done our Royall Familie, the miſerie and ſlavery of our Countrie by being under a forraigne yoak, ſuch as that of England occaſion'd by the Union, and ſince, to his certaine knouledge, we had been longe languiſhing after ane opportunitie of retriveing our ancient libertie, he conjured us not to let ſuch ane occaſion ſlip, which ſeem'd to offer itſelf, as it were, by providence of Heaven, when, in all probabilitie, we could not meet with another ſo favourable, and concluded it was his opinion we ſhould attack the enemie, who were ſo near us, and inlarged on the whole in very ſtronge and moveing terms. If he had made this harangue ſome hours ſooner he had done it with a better grace, for it was, of all things, the eaſieſt to told him, that had the bridge of Doun not been cut, it was impoſſible to defilee over it in the ſight of the enemie, who had ſuch a ſuperioritie of horſe, and who would attackt us in the paſſing; and to retired back to Pearth, with a wild undiſciplin'd mob as we had, was not to be thought of, and a much greater riſque then giveing battle. My Lord Huntlie was the onlie man who ſpoke in our Council of War, and, I think, haveing own'd the truth

of what my Lord Mar ſaid, aſkt, If the gaineing a battle would recover our liberties, and give the deciſive ſtroke to our affair, as we were then circumſtanced, and w[h]ither we could pretend after that to reſiſt the force of England and its allies without forraigne aide?[1] That he did not doubt but my Lord Mar knew, what encouragement we had to expect that forraigne aide, which we had been ſo longe flattering ourſelves with the expectation of, ſince he had ſo latlie receaved a letter from my Lord Bollingbrook; and that everie bodie preſent might judge of things as well as his Lordſhip, deſired the letter might be produced. This was the firſt time ever I heard of that letter, which afterwards made a noiſe amongſt us. Mar took no notice of what my Lord Huntlie ſaid, and deſir'd the vote to be ſtated, Fight or Not; and all unanimouſlie, to doe them juſtice, with ane unexpreſſible alacritie, called out, Fight. And the moment moſt went to their poſts. I ſpoke to Generall Hamilton to put ſome bodie who had leſs or more a notion of the ſervice, on the head of Huntley's tuo ſquadrons; for, ſince they were order'd to the right and the Fife to the left, I aſſur'd him I'd take my fate with my own. What orders he gave to others I know not; all I can ſay, I got none from him. Before we ſeparated, that command of the enemie's horſe on the high ground ſometimes made a great front, and ſometimes a little; and I heard Captain Clanronald ſay, That, give him fortie horſe, he'd take them all priſoners. I dare ſay he meant it, for he was a modeſt man on all other occaſions, but wonder'd to ſee a man who, I was told, had ſerved,[2] ſo poſitive, when they appear'd tuice fortie, and bid Major Balfour obſerve if, the moment any of them turn'd, they did not ſeem, as it were, to fall out of our ſight; and aſkt him, If he did not think the ennemie's whole horſe might be there, ſince, behind that ridge, it appear'd there was a hidden ground?

We were no ſooner got to our poſts when a huzza begun, with toſſing up of hats and bonnets, and run through our whole armie, on the hearing we had reſolved to fight; and no man, who had a drope of Scots blood

[1] It must be owned that Huntly, from the beginning, seems to have been very lukewarm in the affair.

[2] The Captain of Clanranald had held a commission in the French service, and made several campaigns under the Duke of Berwick.

in him, but muſt been elevated to ſee the cheerfullneſs of his countriemen on that occaſion; and, for my oun part, in ſpite of my reaſon, I made no manner of doubt of gaineing the victorie; and by that unaffected livelieneſs that appear'd in everie man's looks, I begun to think that Highlandmen were Highlandmen. I have alreadie ſaid, we had been formed all that morning in tuo lines; Mariſhall's, Linlithgow's, and Huntlie's tuo ſquadrons were on the right of the front line, and Southeſque's, Rollo's, and mine, were on the left of the rear line, by orders. From our meeting at our Councill of War we did not looſe half-ane-hour, when Hamiltone broke our lines each in tuo colloms, and order'd the four ſquadrons of horſe on the right, with tuo thouſand Highlandmen, who compoſ'd the collom of the right of the firſt line, to marche and take poſſeſſion of that high ground where the ennemie's horſe appear'd. My Lord Drummond, who is always glade to be imployed, and to take upon him, put himſelf on the head of thoſe four ſquadrons; ſo he and Mariſhall commanded them, and Generall Gordon commanded the foot. Tho' never people marched ſo faſt as they did up to the top of that riſeing ground, I ſaid to Major Balfour, who was on the head of the ſquadron with me, That I expected to ſee them come as faſt doun as they went up; believing ſtill that all the ennemie's horſe were there, for, as to their foot, I never dream'd they were, becauſe all who were ſent to reconnoitre, to the laſt, ſaid, they were in the incloſures of Kippendavie, a great way from that ground; and the Laird of Keer's great friend, John Stirling, aſſured they were there. This was the man we were all to truſt to when formerlie in Dumblain, and he, as well as all who were ſent out, never went within ſight of the ennemie, return'd back to us with what they had pickt up from the firſt countrie fellow they met, and no wonder if ſo now, when the whole time they found themſelves more valued for telling of lyes then doeing their dutie. The ſecond colume on the left of the firſt line marched likwiſe by the right, and folloued the other at a great diſtance; then the firſt colume of the ſecond line marched by the right, as did the ſecond colume of the ſecond line, ſo that the three ſquadrons fell into the rear of that colume which marched laſt off the ground, and had orders to follow that colume, which, it was ſaide, would

carrie us to the left. Rollo was next the foot, and Southeſque next him, and I laſt, which was given me that day as the poſt of honour, being to be the left of our whole armie, as we were told, tho' I never could conceave why we ſhould folloued the ſecond colume of the rear line.

By the time we begun to move off our ground, the four ſquadrons of horſe with Drummond and Mariſhall, and the firſt colume of the foot, with them who had made ſo great haſte to the top, were nere the ennemie, and beginning to form; but Drummond and Mariſhall, inſtead of formeing on the right of that colume with their four ſquadrons, formed on the left, which made the center of the foot,[1] it ſeems not knowing their left hand from their right, thought themſelves well there. We obſerving them form ſo quicklie, and all the other three colums, who were marcheing moſt irregularlie at ſome diſtance, the one before the other, mended all of us our pace, and folloued as faſt as we could run, the three ſquadrons continueing, according to order, to follow the laſt colume of the foot, who keept us at a gallop, inclineing towards the ground our left deſigned to take up. When we had advanced prittie well that way with the haſte we made, ane Aide-de-Camp of Kilſeyth's came to Rollo, who, being nixt the foot, was on the front of the three ſquadrons of horſe, and order'd the three ſquadrons to the right of the whole armie with all poſſible expedition, as did with the ſame breath ſome one from Mar, and one Lewis Innes from my Lord Huntlie, by Mar's order. Rollo's ſquadron obey'd at once, and went off at full ſpeed, and gave the order back to Southeſque's, who did the ſame to me onlie with a cry, and went after Rollo; haveing no time to reflect, I folloued a little, and ſeeing ſome herds comeing quick towards us, calling out horſe to the right, and a confuſed cry of the Highlandmen, which the one colum had communicated to the other, and ſo handed to us, for they can ſpeak Scots when they pleaſ'd, I imagin'd Rollo and Southeſque had gone off upon that, and halted my ſquadron for ſome minutes, and ſpoke out to Major Balfour before them all, ſaying,

[1] This mistake, by which the left of the Earl of Mar's army was left unsupported by cavalry, occasioned the loss they sustained, the Duke of Argyle being thus at liberty to outflank their infantry, and charge them with his dragoons, which he could not have done had they been protected by cavalry of their own.

It was more than our necks were worth not to follow our firſt orders, except we had ſeen ane Aide-de-Camp, and was goeing to the left alone; but, dreading miſconſtruction, thought it beſt to follow the others, haveing takne witneſs that I foreſaw the conſequence, and gallopt as hard as I could after them, who I could not overtake till they were poſted on the right of the whole foot, Major Balfour calling always to me that I would ruine the ſquadron, we rid ſo hard that our horſes were ſunk by that time. I can't tell who poſted the tuo ſquadrons, but whoever did it, did well;[1] they, with the line of foot, made ane obtuſe angle; for, haveing a little hill nere our flank, we did not know whence the ennemie's horſe of the left wing would come; if they came with their foot on the ſouth ſide of the hill to our front, it was eaſie for us to make half a wheel that way; or, if they came on the north ſide of the hill, we had no greater wheele to make, and could not be attackt in the rear; all I can ſay, that it was the onlie thing I ſaw done there with judgement, and took my poſt as they were draun up upon their right.

On our firſt comeing we ſaw the enemie's colours, and their heads, and ſcreud bajonets, all marcheing in haſte towards our left alonge our front, within tuo hundred yards of us; but the gentlemen would not believe it was the ennemie, and ſome cried out it was my Lord Strathmore's colours. I was both griev'd and angrie to ſee them ſtill in that humor of not believing their own eyes, and told them they were Union colours which they ſaw, and that they knew that Strathmore's regiment and colours were left in Pearth, and aſkt them, If any of our folks had granadeer caps and bajonets, or red coats, and whence they thought theſe could come? And named them ſome of the regiments, whoſe liveries I thought I knew, and particularlie the Scots Fuſilieers, with their caps; and put them in mind they had been longe ſeeking to fight, and deſir'd them to lay their account with getting a belliefull of it, and onlie bid them mind their honours and mine; and ſheu'd them, that for my part

[1] General Wightman, who commanded the centre of Argyle's army, says, in a modest and distinct account of the action, "I never saw regular troops more exactly drawn up in line of battle, and that in a moment, and their officers behaved with all the gallantry imaginable."

I was mounted on ſo heavie a horſe that I could not run away, and that no pretext ſhould carrie me from their head, and they ſhould judge if I did not give them good exemple. I put all the officers into the ſquadron, except myſelf and other tuo, and tuo ſtanche old gentlemen in the rear, with piſtells in their hands, ſaying, God damn them, if they ſaw me turn my back, if they did not ſhoot me through the head; and gave the ſame order with reſpect to everie other bodie. I told the gentlemen, Not that I doubted them, but it was the practice. I intreated the gentlemen to be ſilent, and not look about them, and by that means they'd eaſilie keep a ſtreight front, and ride cloſe, without which they'd be ruin'd and diſgraced. On the other hand I told, If they'd be regular, and obey orders, I did not doubt of the ſucceſs; and order'd them to obſerve my motions, and to be prepared to follow my exemple in ſaluteing the enemie with their ſuords a little before we chockt; for I knew nothing could ſhow a more intrepid air, or a greater contempt of them, the affectation of which ſeldom failes to doe good.

While I was about this, I ſaw and heard a gentleman come up to Generall Gordon, calling to him, with great oaths, To attack the enemie before they were formed, and was told it was old Captain Livinſton, of Dumbarton's regiment. Gordon excuſed himſelf, as I was afterwards told, till he had ſpoke to Mar; but on Mar's not being to be found or ſeen, he ſoon conſented, Livingſton repreſenting to him that he'd looſe his time. The order to attack being given, the tuo thouſand Highlandmen, who were then draun up in very good order, run towards the ennemie in a diſorderlie manner, always fireing ſome dropeing ſhots, which drew upon them a generall ſalvo from the ennemie, which begun at their left, oppoſite to us, and run to their right. No ſooner that begun, the Highlandmen threw themſelves flat on their bellies; and when it ſlackned, they ſtarted to their feet. Moſt threw away their fuzies, and, drawing their ſuords, pierced them everie where with ane incredible vigour and rapiditie, in four minutes' time from their receaving the order to attack. Not onlie all in our view and before us turned their backs, but the five ſquadrons of dragoons on their left, commanded by Generall Witham, went to the right about, and never lookt back till they had got near Dumblain, almoſt tuo miles from us; while the

Highlandmen purſued the infantrie, who run as hard as their feet could carrie them, a great manie of whome threw away their armes to enable them to run the faſter, and were ſabred by the Highlandmen, who ſpared few who fell in their hands. Thoſe of the enemie, draun up before the four ſquadrons in our center, commanded by Drummond and Mariſhall, ſtood firm, after giveing their fire, upon their not advanceing to attack them, neither before nor after their fireing.[1] So theſe Generalls thought it not adviſeable to conteſt the matter with rogues who ſeem'd ſo opiniatre, and were ſo impertinent as not to run away on the ſight of them, chooſe to make a wheel to the right, and fall into the purſuite with the Highlandmen, as if they had been goeing to ſkin thoſe who the Highlandmen butchred, and, in the tuinkling of ane eye, after the enemie gave way, did they come by us all broke and ſcattred, everie man for his own hand, rideing as hard as his horſe could carrie him.

Their exemple put our three ſquadrons on the right in ſuch a ſtir, that it's onlie knoun to God Almightie the paine and trouble I had with mine. Before this they had been all ſtareing and ſpeakeing, but now they begun to break on all hands of me; ſeeing that neither prayers nor intreatie could doe, I did not ſpare the giveing names, and ſaying the worſt natur'd things I could imagine, ſuch as telling them, That if the ennemie had ſtood firm, they would not be ſo readie to advance, and biding them take it from me, there was ſome more to doe, and we'd have occaſion to ſee their talents; for Major Arthur had called to me in the hurrie, and told me of our left wing and center running away, and he'll doe me the juſtice to ſay that I anſuer'd, S'wounds, keep that to

[1] Notwithstanding the credit which the author afterwards takes for keeping his own three squadrons steady, *i. e.*, inactive, while Drumnond's and Marischal's joined the pursuers, nothing seems more certain than that, if the cavalry of the right wing had charged immediately after the Highlanders' success, the whole of Argyle's left wing,—which, as it was, had a narrow escape,—must have been destroyed, and his right put in great danger. The troops he describes appear to have been the three regiments of Argyle's centre, commanded by Wightman, who, receiving no check from the rebel cavalry, marched on to support the Duke, who was pursuing on the right.

yourſelf. But nobodie hearing but myſelf, they preſſed to diſband, ſo I was forced to tell them, That, by God, ſince they had choſen me to command them, they ſhould obey, whether they would or not, (for there was no time to be loſt in compliments,) and ſuore ſolemnlie, That the firſt man who offer'd to move ſhould die that moment. The tuo ſquadrons on my left, obſerveing the care I took to keep my ſquadron together, and both ſeeing and hearing how earneſt I was about it, thoſe who commanded them did the ſame, but not ſo ſucceſſfullie, for ſeveralls of their people broke off from them; and ſome of the gentlemen who belonged to theſe ſquadrons told me, That if it had not been for me, they'd had no regarde to their oun officers, and folloued in the purſuite, in imitation of Drummond and Mariſhall's four ſquadrons.

While we halted there, Mar came and ſtood a little time in our front. I wiſht him joy of the victorie, though I kneu what had paſt, but his Lordſhip was then in a wood, and rid off, without pretending to give orders. My labour ſtill continued; ſuearing, and curſeing, and ſpurring, till I had ſunk both myſelf and my horſe, and loſt my voice with dounright raileing. I told one, who was a captain amongſt us, That they had much to anſuer for who made him ſo, for it was cheating both King and Countrie. It's to be thought that ſuch rebukes, and much worſe, would make gentlemen think and look grave, or take notice of what they were doeing, eſpeciallie ſince it was ſo much for their intereſt; for I was oblidged to tell them at laſt, that I had too good reaſon for what I did, but nothing could, for if I got ſo much the better of them as hinder them to diſband, it ſeems they had reſolved neither to keep a ſtreight front or ride cloſe; and they remembred afterwards, when I was able to ſpeak no more, I rid at them, grinning and puſhing with my ſuord, within ane inch of ſome of their noſes. All this paſt in a great hurrie, and in a very ſhort time we, at leaſt I, for I can't tell what the others thought, expecting the ennemie's left wing of horſe, for who could thought that the Highlandmen had chaced them away, we had never ſeen them becauſe of the round hill on our flank, when all of a ſuddain a ſquadron, or a number near to it, begun to appear on the top of that little hill, within three hundred yards of us, and haveing pickt up ſome of Mariſhall's ſquadron, ſurround them, and

ſhot them in our ſight, ſeeming to form there; but, on my makeing a ſigne to advance the three ſquadrons to attack them before they could forme, beleiving it the enemie's left wing of horſe, we made towards them at a trot, they run, and left ſome of our's dead, or mortallie wounded. While they were doeing this ſmall execution, ſome of our wiſe people run and found out my Lord Mar, and told him, That the dragoons were fighting amongſt themſelves; and tho' I ſaw what it was as clear as any thing could be perceaved, the whole was of that opinion, till the very laſt they were reſolved to cheat themſelves. I never could yet learn nor judge, by the notion I conceived of the enemie's diſpoſition, whence that ſquadron came, for we were no ſooner on the top of that little hill then we perceaved their left wing of dragoons forming, as they return'd from the flight, above Dumblaine, but could ſee nothing of all the enemie's foot and our oun horſe and foot, betuixt them and us the ground was ſo hollow and waved, except a few ſcattred here and there, at great diſtances. At firſt comeing up to that little hill, our three ſquadrons were carried in to a ſmall pound fold, I don't know how or by whoſe order, where, inſtead of makeing a large front to intimidate thoſe above Dumblain, we made no greater than that of one ſquadron, ſo that no man could ſtir, far leſs wheel in ſquadron. I repreſented to them the riſque they run if attackt from any hand, for then all knew the ennemie was in our rear as well as our front. We defiled out of it at tuo openings, one by one; and, haveing extended our front, to keep them in awe that were now formed above Dumblaine, we were told the Duke of Argyle was comeing up in our rear, from the purſuite of our left wing. I ſent off tuo, at different times, to inform Mar of it, and begg'd of him to endeavour to bring back the horſe and the Highlandmen.

All this time, from the beginning of the action, no mortell ſent or gave us any orders, but hearing the Grey Dragoons, who made tuo ſquadrons, were advanceing near our rear, I againe ſent to my Lord Mar to get the four ſquadrons of horſe and the Highlandmen together, not doubting that the enemie's whole right wing, with the Duke of Argyle, was following them; and marched on with the three ſquadrons ſoftlie towards them. After being within tuo or three hundred paces of them, in

a fair field, they halted firſt, and we halted. Where they halted, they were within fiftie paces of the priſonners of their foot, which we had takne in the beginning, and were all got about a little houſe, looking on. I muſt doe our gentlemen juſtice to ſay they called, Advance. I bid them have patience, and leave it to me, ſuſpecting there might be ſome more on the ſloping [ground] behind them; for we had ſeen them appear all at once; nor did I know how near the Duke of Argyle was to them, and, for another reaſon, thinkeing it very poſſible they might pierce us, becauſe we neither would marche cloſe, or with a ſtreight front, and if they beat us, they'd neither allow our foot or horſe, who were all ſtrageling, to get together; no difficult matter for a few to doe to thoſe who were all ſpread over the face of the earth; and then, ſhewing themſelves on the high ground, was enough to make the five ſquadrons above Dumblain advance to them, and they'd had all betuixt them. But I gave the gentlemen no reaſon, and took all on me. Had they advanced to me, I had nothing left but goe on at a full trot, which I took care to inſtruct the gentlemen to doe ſo ſoon as I gave the order; for it's a certain rule, that whoever have the quickeſt motion, give their horſe weight by that motion, and have ane advantage in the ſhock, provided they can keep a ſtreight front; beſides, all men who are in motion have more courage, their ſpirits being rouſed with it, and haveing leſs time to think, which is ane obſerve of Cæſar's in his Battle of Pharſalia. After lookeing at one another for ſome time, our foot begun to aſſemble and draw nere, at leaſt ſome hundred, I believe three or four; and ſome few of the horſe, who came back, drew up in the rear of my ſquadron, as if they deſign'd making a fourth rank. On ſeeing the foot, I order'd to advance to the enemy, and they wheel'd and went off, for the little time they were in our ſight, at great leaſure, but after they got upon the deſcent made great haſte back to the Duke of Argyle, who we obſerved comeing to meet them with a bodie of horſe and foot from purſueing our left wing, a large mile from us, and nearer Pearth then where we were draun up in the morning. The infatuation was ſo great, tho' they knew ſome hours before that the great part of our armie was beat, and ſau the dragoons marcheing doun to that bodie, they would not believe it to be the enemie, and called out it was Lord George Murray and Indernitie, who had orders

to follow us from Bruntiſland with 500 men, and had joyn'd the Macgregors and MackFierſons; as if they had laid it doun for a fixt principell not to believe their oun eyes, or be perſuaded there was ane ennemie on earth. How to expect anie bodie can conceave this, as well as many other notions we had, I can't tell. Our foot and horſe being almoſt all return'd from purſueing, we formed into tolerable order, the one half of our horſe being draun up on the right of the foot, and the other on the left, and marched to that bodie which was joyned by the Gray Dragoons, and marcheing to us in order of battle, and were then ſcarce perſuaded it was the ennemie, and when we yeelded that point, we ſaw ane imaginarie corps of ours following them at the heels. The ennemie made the firſt halt, and we, in complaiſance to them, did as much, and ſtood lookeing at one another about four hundred yards diſtance, for half ane hour; our horſe upon the wings advanced before the foot a hundred yards, I believe without order, by common conſent, for I ſaw no mortall pretend to give orders that day, the one following the others exemple. I remember Linlithgow, whoſe ſquadron was nixt mine, and the whole time had got before the tuo ſquadrons on the right, and was ſtill advanceing, as if he had been goeing to doe all the work himſelf, when I called to him tuice not to break our little line, but he was ſo vaine of that days behaviour that he ſcarce would take advice from me. We halted in expectation that the tuo thouſand foot would advance and take up that voide betuixt us, which would formed our whole line, haveing gone ſo far to encourage them, but lookt longe in vaine over our ſhoulders, for they ſtood like ſtakes. I went and put Huntlie's ſquadron in order, who I ſaw ſtraitned in their ground, and gave them the beſt directions I could, for both made but one in the evening, which I ſhall account for afterwards, as well as for Mariſhall's being intirlie loſt.

The night comeing on, the Duke of Argyle ſeem'd firſt to make a feint as if he was moveing towards us, and inclined after to Dumblain, and, it being almoſt dark, we ſoon loſt ſight of them. It's certain that Mar told the gentlemen, That the Highlandmen were ſo fatigued they had loſt ſpirits, and would not attack; and to the Highlandmen, That he could not find in his heart to riſque the gentlemen. If it be alloued

to judge, from the regarde he had to both firſt and laſt, it wont ſeem ane uncharitable conſtruction to ſay that Mar had no mind to riſque himſelf; for of all the opportunities at that time, the gentlemen, who had no bread to expect out of the countrie, miſſed the favourableſt that ever offer'd of getting out of the danger he had plunged them in,[1] haveing at leaſt ane equall number of horſe, and more than double the number of foot; for I never heard that he was above eight hundred foot, and it was never denied we were above tuo thouſand, and we were onlie ſpared to be guard-de-corps, to bring him ſafe back to Pearth, till he thought convenient to get off; to which he had no ſmall grudgeing, being mightilie ſatiſfied that now he had done enough to convince the world what a great hero he was. A duarf is ſoon glutted, and a giant can drink more then would [have] dround him. Nou he had come off ſafe, he was not to be caught again, words and lyes would make up the reſt, and his fortune was made. Had he been takne, he had loſt the honour and profite of all, and no bodie would find it their intereſt to lye for him, for, I am morallie ſure, he'd never ſtood killing. Nor can it be ſaid for him that he did not know the advantage of numbers we had over the ennemie; the priſoners told us their ſtrength, and we ſaw then that the Duke of Argyle had draun up his foot in tuo ranks, by their haveing few colours for ſo great a front, and we had ſeen by the Gray Dragoons that his horſe was ſo, and all did not bring him to ane equall front with us, who were huddled together. But we ſuore to phantomes at one time, and would not believe the ſtrongeſt appearances, yea demonſtrations, at other times, when it did not make for his Lordſhip's purpoſe; and, upon the whole, forgot ourſelves. We were told our cannon were lying very near where we then ſtood, haveing been left there when the reſt of our armie run away; ſome of their carriages were broke, and our pouder-carts overturned and broke, and the little pouder we had, tread in the wet moor

[1] The inactivity of the rebel army was so great, that they neglected all the advantages of a most excellent position on the summit of a rising ground, round which Argyle was obliged to march, and when, if they had but thrown down stones, they might have disordered him. It was on this occasion that Glenbucket exclaimed, "Oh for an hour of Dundee!"

by horſes, which, I believe, was a barrell or tuo of a hundred pound weight, tho' we had carts proportionable to our cannon. Some were diſmounted to carrie of[f] what cannon were leaſt diſabled. I propoſed burieing thoſe which we could not carrie of[f], and it would been eaſie to [have] ſaved them afterwards, but it was not gone into. Haveing left, I think, five, we carried the others in to the highway, a quarter of a mile from that place we found them in.

It was a ſhame to ſee how all diſbanded after that, as if they had thought themſelves too longe there. Orders were ſent to me to make the rear guard, and bringe off the cannon, being the common drudge; which I obey'd willinglie, never in my life haveing refuſed the poſt of honour, and never yeelded it where I thought it was my due, but to keep peace, and pleaſe ſome Lords in revieus, knouing that on other occaſions they would not interfeer. I ſent to deſire four or five horſe out of each ſquadron to put to the cannon, for thoſe we had were too few, but by that time it was dark, and everie one ſhifting for himſelf, ſo I got no anſuer, there being nobodie either to command or obey. I moiled with theſe cannon till it was very late, and till I could carrie them no further, the horſes being jaded and ſunk, and ſome of their chatter'd carriages breakeing, they were at laſt all left in the highway to Arduch, ſome near, and ſome further off, whence all that were recommended to my care were carried in afterwards to Pearth. I came to Arduch about tuelve of the clock, and nobodie could inform me where Mar was, to whome I was to make my report, nor was any quarter-maſter to be found to direct me where to find quarters. After rideing a great part of the night in a moor, I diſmiſſed my ſquadron, who ſtay'd with me till the laſt, to doe as they thought beſt, ſeeing no probabilitie of getting cover for them; and bad I not, by accident, met a gentleman who carried me to Urchell, I had been in a bad enough ſituation.

Next morning, we were told that our armie was aſſembleing at Arduch, where, after a ſhort ſleep, I got there by eight of the clock, and I found Mar on the field, with ſome of his creatures, but few of the others with him. So many as came there made a large front to amuſe three ſquadrons of dragoons we ſau on the field of battle at a great diſtance;

and then, by the weakneſs of our number, we diſcover'd viſiblie the effects of our miſmanagement the day before, and that the great bodie of our Highlandmen were gone. In what manner our three colums[1] run away, none of thoſe amongſt them could tell, nor where the flight begun, everie corps putting it off themſelves, on each other, as is uſuall. Moſt agreed that few of them had ever formed, and thoſe who did, begun to fire at a great diſtance; that the three colums fell in with one another in that running up the hill, and when they came within ſight of the Duke of Argyle's right wing, which was alreadie formed, they were in diſorder; and the laſt confuſion, when his dragoons made a mine [an attempt] to attack them through the moraſs, which happned to be betuixt them; and happie for our foot had they knoun to make the right uſe of ſuch ane advantage and ſituation; but inſtead of that, and falling into forme, they fell into greater confuſion, calling for horſe againſt the dragoons, and Generall Hamilton being the onlie officer amongſt them, it was impoſſible for him alone to bring them into order; ſo they turned their backs that minute we gave the huzza to advance, the Duke of Argyle purſueing them.[2] I have often wonder'd to ſee ſo few killed on all that ground over which he purſued with the dragoons. The onlie reaſon I can conceave was, his being oblidged to goe about the moraſs, which gave our people a great advantage in the flight doun hill, and that the froſt was ſtronge enough to bear them on foot, when the dragoons' horſes ſunk deep in the moor, our's in the mean time getting over the river of Allen.

Tuo regiments of the ennemie's foot, and ſome diviſions, or a part of another, folloued the Duke of Argyle, with his right wing of dragoons,

[1] Meaning the three columns who formed the left, who were outflanked by Argyle's cavalry, under Cathcart, who, crossing a bog which the frost had rendered passable, put them completely to the rout, and drove them as far as the river Allan.

[2] Some of the best of the Clans shared in the rout:—

"The Camerons ran as they'd been caught
Lifting their neighbours' cows, man;
Mackenzie and the Stewart fled
But filabeg or trews, man."

for they had ſtood firm, not haveing been attackt, from oppoſite to thoſe four ſquadrons commanded by Drummond and Mariſhall, who were ſo civill as not to diſturb anie, quited the ground to them, and fell in to the irregularitie of the Highlandmen, and went of gleaning after them, without takeing notice of thoſe who they naturallie had to doe with, and had given them their fire, and neither did the dutie of foot or horſe; for had they advanced with the Highlandmen they had ſweept all before them, as they did. The gentlemen of thoſe ſquadrons excuſed themſelves, by ſaying they obey'd orders; for Drummond, who did not think it was enough for him, as Liutennant-Generall of the horſe, to take care of his own command, had left it to give his orders amongſt the foot of the right, the weight of all the affair lying heavie on his ſpirit, for no bodie can imagine that he left his own command upon any other ſcore; nor doe I ſay that he did not return to his command becauſe the ennemie ſtood firm before it, and for that reaſon flouriſhed his keen cutting ſuord, as a ſignall to them at a diſtance to follow that conquering arme of his; and, to ſhew them he was not to ſtop there, went off before them. Theſe poor gentlemen, on that ſignall, wheel'd the four ſquadrons to the right, on the ground betuixt the ennemie's line and that where our's was draun up, and, in wheeling, came with their flank cloſe to the ennemie's foot, who gave them a fire in the flank that brought doun eighteen of Huntlie's tuo ſquadrons, or of the whole, but the loſs fell moſt on Huntlie's, and all this to doe nothing, for it had not coſt them one man had they attackt thoſe after their firſt fire, and not given them time to charge, as the Highlandmen did; but not to attack at all is ſtill worſe. This fire and the former made the tuo rear ranks of Mariſhall's ſquadron make volt face back to Pearth, and occaſion'd Huntlie's tuo to make but one in the evening, a good many of them takeing the ſame route. Thoſe of Mariſhall's, who folloued in the purſuite, fell in amongſt ſome dragoons, who did not retire ſo irregularlie as they folloued; their ſtandard was takne, and nine of them killed, which was juſtlie imputed to the preſumption and ignorance of him who commanded them—next to Drummond's conduct, who, in that, ſurpaſſed all human race.

On our left, the brave younge Strathmore was killed, after being

wounded and takne; he commanded a battalion of the Athole foot, which the Marquiſe of Tullibardine gave over to him; being to doe the dutie of a Major-Generall, he would by no means ſtay with his own regiment, which was left in guarniſone at Pearth. I can't help wiſhing he had keept his promiſe to me, to honour me with being under my command that day, and joyning my ſquadron. When he found all turning their backs, he ſeiſed the colours, and perſuaded fourteen, or ſome ſuch number, to ſtand by him for ſome time, which dreu upon him the ennemie's fire, by which he was wounded in the bellie, and, goeing off, was takne and murder'd by a dragoon, and it may be ſaid in his fate, that a mill-ſtone cruſht a brilliant. He was the younge man, of all I ever ſaw, who approached the neareſt to perfection, and had a juſt contempt of all the little lyes and ſelfiſh tricks ſo neceſſarie to ſome, and ſo common amongſt us; and his leaſt qualitie was, that he was of a noble, ancient familie, and a man of qualitie. Fortune ſeems to be invidious to thoſe of worth, ſince ſhe gives a longe life, with ane incapacitie, to ſome, and joyns a ſhort life to a great merite, in others. Thoſe whoſe life are of any conſequence faile earlie, and thoſe who never will be good for any thing are eternell; either that they appear to be ſo, or that, comparativelie with the others, they reallie are ſo. Chance and Death agree in forgetting one who is good for nothing. Auchterhouſe, uncle to Strathmore, a Brigadeer of our foot, a man of very great honour, was killed in the retreat.

We loſt Captain of Clanronnald, a very gallant, brave man, who was the onlie [one] who attackt with the foot on horſeback; who, it was ſaid, dyed, leaving his curſe on his followers if ever they deſerted the countrie's cauſe: He was, without diſpute, one of the beſt men we had.[1] The Earle of Panmure was takne, walking at his own leaſure, and ſo very ill cut in the head that he was left for dead in a houſe by the ennemie.[2] The Viſcount of Strathallen, and his brother Logie Drummond, Murray of

[1] When Clanranald fell, the Highlanders hesitated in their attack, till Glengary, rushing forward, waved his bonnet, and cried out, "Revenge! revenge! to-day for revenge, and to-morrow for mourning!"

[2] When he was retaken by his brother, Mr Henry Maule.

Auchtertire, Barafield, and a good many more gentlemen; but in all, our priſonners did not amount to one hundred. Of thoſe of our right, who carried all before them, there was no more then tuentie-five Highlandmen killed, and ſome few wounded. Eighteen of Huntlie's tuo ſquadrons, and nine of Mariſhall's, were killed, I have alreadie mention'd how, and Iruine of Drum, a younge gentleman of good hopes, who command[ed] a ſquadron of Huntlie's, was ill wounded. The ennemie loſt the Earle of Forfar, Collonell, and a number of Officers, killed and wounded; of the laſt was Generall Evans, and the Earle of Iſla, a volunteer, brother to the Duke of Argyle. We took about fifeteen officers priſonners, the chief of whom was Collonell Laurence. Above tuo hundred private men were takne, but ſome eſcapeing in the night, and others dying of their wounds, we carried only that number to Pearth. As to thoſe who fell in the field of battle, I did not ſee above tuo hundred; tho', if the moſt moderate of our accounts we receaved at Pearth be true, there was near to eight hundred killed. I never heard it diſputed that we got tuelve hundred armes. If they were maſters of our cannon, by our three colums giveing way, we were maſters of theirs by their left wing doeing the ſame, but could not carrie them off that night for want of horſes, and nixt day had been forced to abandon them, as we did our oun, tho' our Highlandmen had come back to us, becauſe of the want of proviſions; and had they fought as near to Pearth, as we did to Stirveling, they muſt have left theirs if they had not been better provided then we.

People raiſon'd differentlie of the cauſes of our not gaineing ane intire victorie, as is uſuall on ſuch occaſions, and the leſs they know the more their reaſons differ, and very few of our's knew where the miſmanagement lay. But all at laſt fell into Mar's cant, who induſtriouſlie gave out, by his ſycophants, that it was Generall Hamilton's couardice, who he had neglected all alonge, after he had dipt him, in caſe, by anie luckie hit, he had gain'd too much credite, in which Hamilton had ſuffer'd in common with others who be uſed in the ſame manner. But now was the time to found a reputation on his ruins, knowing he did it without danger; and that Hamilton, who had no more influence amongſt us then his caracter of Generall gave him, which he took this opportunitie to rob

him of, muſt be more ſubſervient to him. So it was given to know, that had we had another Lord Mar on the left, our victorie had been compleat, and that it was impoſſible for him to be everie where. This was no leſs neceſſarie to Drummond, Mariſhall, Linlithgow, and Kilſeyth's purpoſe, who arrogated, each of them, a ſhare of what was takne from Hamilton and others, and carried away people from makeing a narrow ſcrutinie into their behaviour and conduct. Beſides the old motives of ſerveing Mar, they now more immediatelie ſerved themſelves, and every fool applauded himſelf for haveing it to ſay he did not run where a Generall run away; ſo it is difficult to tell who were moſt fond of it, tho' Hamilton's caracter, in the whole courſe of his life, was ſo different from that charge laid to him, that no man who knew him can ſuſpect him of it.

It may appear to be the hight of arrogance in me, and falling into the ſame crime I ſo often accuſe others of, to condemn one in a trade, whoſe longe ſervice and experience, advanced to ſo great a caracter, and ſo diſtant from what I had in the armie as ane apprentice; but I hope the giveing my reaſons for that day's bad ſucceſs, deduced from matters of fact, won't bring me under the ſuſpicion of pretending to determine againſt ſo old ane officer as Generall Hamilton, except in ſuch things as, I am certain, were directlie oppoſite to all the receaved rules of war. His breakeing us in colums, and marcheing all the four colums off by the right, was the looſeing of time; our left, as we were formed that morning, being next to the ennemie. His ſending the colum on the right of the front line, with the four ſquadrons of horſe, to the ennemie, on the top of that riſeing ground, when he halted the other three, could have no other conſequence but that of their being too earlie there, or we too late; when he might have gained time by marcheing the tuo colums on the right of both lines by the right, and the tuo colums of both lines on the left by the left, and advanceing the heads of the four colums equallie, and, by keeping a reaſonable diſtance, could have formed his tuo lines at once, and joyned in the center; and, in that caſe, Rollo's, Southeſque's, and my ſquadron, muſt have marched upon the head of that colum which was to make the left of our front line, and cover'd them in the formeing, as well as by takeing poſt on the left of all, to

cover them from the dragoons when formed. But Drummond would ſtill [have] murder'd the whole by running into the center with his four ſquadrons, and the ſame neceſſitie would have happned for our three ſquadrons to take up his poſt on the right, and the left being unfurniſht, and wanting horſe, would ſtill run away at the approach of the dragoons; or, had we continued on the left, the right muſt have run away for the ſame reaſon, for even regular foot, with bajonets, and all their order and battalion quarré, have not given many inſtances that they can ſtand horſe in a ground where they can act; I never heard above tuo or three, ſo it was not to be expected of Highlandmen, who had ſenſe enough to find out that excuſe for their running away, and called for horſe before they run. Hamilton excuſes himſelf by ſaying, Drummond and Mariſhall broke his whole diſpoſition by running, contrarie to his orders, ſo precipitantlie towards the ennemie; and that he ſent tuo-three aide-de-camps to them, ordering them to halt, which he can prove they would not doe, imagening they'd have to doe with onlie one or tuo ſquadrons of the ennemie, who, in their fancie, they had already ſualloued up with their great numbers: very ſtronge preſumption in them, who did not know their right hand from their left, as they themſelves ſhew'd, to diſobey their own Generall, a man of ſervice, and imagine they were capable of takeing the other napping: Great God! what is not follie capable of! Tho' this was a viſible fault in them, as well as the other, in formeing the horſe in the center, which had both bad conſequences, yet, in my weak judgement, does not intirelie excuſe Generall Hamilton, whoſe order of marcheing with the other colums was not ſo very regular. I am of opinion, we ought not to broke our lines at all, ſince the ground alloued us to marche in a ſtreight front to the ennemie, and ther's no need of being a Generall to know that never armie gave their flank, or marched in colums, to ane ennemie, when they could doe it in line of battle, and the hazarding that with a mob makes it the more inexcuſable. It's often, if not always, of the worſt of conſequences for Generalls to diſpence with the receaved principles, except in caſes of abſolute neceſſitie, or when the reaſons are not very ſtronge for acting contrarie to them; otherwiſe, I could have told Generall Hamilton that tuo lines of Highlandmen was nonſenſe, if I had thought that one

who had ſerved all his life could had ſo little regarde to forms as he, who derived his onlie merite from them, for he was never ſuſpected to be a man of head. I have often ſaid, before the battle, that tuo lines of Highlandmen was looſeing the half of our front to no purpoſe, for, if the firſt line pierced the ennemie, all the world could not hinder the ſecond line from purſueing, to get their ſhare of the plunder, and if the firſt line be repulſed, nothing will make the other line ſtand, to be ſure they'll run, ſo that it ſeem'd our buſſieneſs to out-flanked the ennemie, and to leave onlie the three battalions of Low Countrie foot for a corp-de-reſerve, being more under command.

What contributed not a little to our miſfortune was, that ſuch as my Lord Seaforth did not throw themſelves on foot at the head of their oun Clans; for it's takne for granted, that the beſt half of a Highlandman's courage conſiſts in his love to his chief or maſter, and him he will not eaſilie deſert, and methinks that reciprocall love I ought to have for my Clan, were I a Highland Chief, would make me take my chance with them, even in a very indifferent quarrell, much more when the King I pretend to ſerve, my Countrie, and my all, is at ſtake. And, by that rule, I can't but think that Tullibardine would been of more uſe at the head of the Athole-men than a Major-Generall of the foot; which, had not Mar put upon him, I am ſure his naturell modeſtie would never allou'd him to aſk, haveing ſaid to myſelf and ſeverall others, that morning of our ſkirmiſh, after it was determin'd to fight, That had it been in affairs of ſea, haveing ſerved in that element, he would given his judgement, but being intirelie ignorant of the land ſervice, he was glade to acquieſce to whatever any who had the leaſt experience or knouledge ſhould adviſe him; and no man in all our buſſieneſs had more good will and leſs affectation. Then, I would aſk, What talents could recommend my Lord Drummond to be a Liutennant-Generall of the horſe? I can be poſitive nothing but his eminent follie and ignorance; the firſt is ſufficientlie proven in all the courſe, and in every action of his life, as well as the laſt, which he gave no ſmall demonſtration of in his conduct at the battle, or that thoſe of Pearthſhire would not allow him to command their ſquadron; and, ſince all he could value himſelf for was his followinq, which in reallitie was nothing

without Lord Strathallen and Logie, and ſome more of his friends, as independent of him as I, who alloued him the name of their folks, his Lordſhip could been no where ſo well as on their head, who were good for nothing without him; and a very wonder if a thing ſo worthleſs as he could have made them good for any thing, ſince they muſt not be impoſed on the world for Highlandmen,[1] no more then his Lordſhip as a Generall, tho' he had put them in that maſk. But of all engaged, Seaforth acted the ſcandalouſeſt part; who, in place of putting himſelf at the head of his Clan, as all agreed, ſtood off in the rear, on ſome little riſeing ground, with fourtie ſcoundrells, on horſeback, with him, I can't ſay a cool ſpectator of the fate of his countrie; and when, as it was generallie reported, my Lord Duffus went to him, and thoſe about him, to intreat them to joyn ſome one ſquadron or other, his Lordſhip took no notice of it, and his guards ſatiffied themſelves with ſaying, They came there to waite of my Lord Seaforth. Whether Duffus made uſe of this as ane excuſe for leaveing his command, and for his not goeing back to it, I can't tell; but this I know, that they accommodated that affair on the road, ſince Seaforth[2] and he were the firſt tuo of diſtinction who got to Pearth, and they, it would appear, ſailed before the wind; for they got there by four of the clock, which old Collonell Balfour told me, who had been left Gouvernour at Pearth, and put everie one in priſon who brought the neus of our deroute, till, as

[1] What? the Glenartney, Loch Katrine, and so forth, no Highlandmen!

[2] The old ballad unites Huntley with Seaforth in a charge which in fact attached to both:—

"Two Generals from the field did run,
Lord Huntley and Seaforth, man;
They cut and run, grim death to shun,
These heroes of the north, man."

And again:—

"There's no one can tell, save our brave General,
Who first begun running awa', man;
Save the Earl of Seaforth, and the Cock of the North,
Who on Florence ran fastest of a', man."

But Sinclair had his own reasons for sparing Huntley, while he stigmatises Seaforth.

he ſaid, they turned too great for him, haveing reſpect for their peerage, and, after returneing to themſelves from the great fright, they begun to lament us, who, they ſaid, were all cut in pieces; who, in ſpite of the worſt of events, had it been as they ſaid, and we capable of compaſſion, had more reaſon to pitie them.

Theſe are the effects of makeing a Highland Chief a Lord, and the thanks the Royall Familie has got for digniefieing Seaforth with the title of Marquiſe; for thoſe, by the adoration of their little vaſſalls, are idle enough to imagine themſelves above the common levell of mankind without that caracter to flatter their vanitie, and make them believe their perſons are ſacred, and render them ſo inſupportable that they turn intirelie uſeleſs to their King and Countrie; without that, no creature could be ſo impudent as imagine, he could be excuſed to look on with fourtie guard-de-corps when the cauſe he had undertakne required his and their aſſiſtance; nor would I purſue a miſfortune of that kind ſo far, if we had not been deaved with the noiſe of the great feats he was to perform, both before and after. It would be endleſs to give ane account of that day's eſcapes and miſtakes. Mar committed another, not inconſiderable, in not ordering Lord George Murray and Indernitie, with their five hundred men, from Bruntiſland, to marche in time to joyn us; nor the MacGregors,[1] and MacFierſons, who made up no leſs number, and who, he knew, were poſted onlie four miles from the place where we lay the night before the battle, and were believed to be as good men as any in the Highlands; but that was one of the leaſt of our miſtakes and wants, for we had men enough, and had we onlie had four cool-headed ſerjeants in the place of eight Lords, who it would be eaſie to name, we had, in ſpite of ourſelves, come off that day with honour.

Next to Mar, Drummond, Mariſhall, and Linlithgow, attributed all to themſelves, and had not the leaſt regarde to circumſtances, or that it was the conſequence of the firſt fault Drummond and Mariſhall themſelves had committed, and all thoſe leaders or people of note, who went

[1] The Macgregors, it was supposed, or at least Rob Roy, had no special goodwill to the work. When commanded to advance, he made this cautious answer to the messenger, "If they cannot do it without me, they cannot do it with me."

off with the croude, were ſeverelie laſht, not onlie by thoſe Lords, and others who could value themſelves for not doeing ſo, bút even by thoſe in whoſe companie they run away, who conſented readilie to throw the blame on any, provided it ſhould not be laid to their door. Huntlie, who never would take a command upon him, but came up to the field with the others, was more maliciouſlie and unmercifullie traduced than any,[1] after Generall Hamilton, to whoſe bad diſpoſition, it muſt be ſaid, there was too much oueing, tho' not more then to ſome of their conducts who ſtay'd. Tullibardine had more favour ſheu'd him than any; and here Mar diſtinguiſht his friends, by covering the ſhame of ſome whoſe eaſie temper, or whoſe neceſſities, render'd uſefull to him to carrie on his wicked project to the laſt, and, in a manner, rewarded the one for the truſt they repoſed in him, and puniſht the others diffidence; for that was the generall rule he laid doun to himſelf, except there were ſome particular reaſon for doeing otherwiſe, ſuch as that of diſcrediteing Generall Hamilton, for fear it ſhould be thought, either abroad or at home, that Hamilton had been capable of rendering him any ſervice, and that he had not done all. In that caſe he'd ſacrifiſed his father, or the beſt friend he had on earth. Seaforth's affair, tho' of all the moſt inexcuſable, was extreamlie mitigated, haveing more uſe of him.

But after all that Mar, Drummond, Kilſeyth, and Mariſhall had done (for Linlithgow was but a by-ſleeve, and onlie folloued implicitlie, without either deſigne or judgement,) in giveing, and takeing, and diſpenceing with people's honours, they thought they had done nothing ſo longe as I was not brought in, who, they had no manner of hopes of gaineing, and was not altogether ſo ſtupid as not to know what part they and I acted; and tho' I hope no leſs honourable then theirs, yet I could not find in my heart to value myſelf upon it, being what would occurr'd

[1] It is always said, and seems here to be allowed, that Huntley fled at Sheriffmuir. There is a ballad in Hogg's Jacobite Reliques severely reflecting on the Gordons in general. Sinclair seems to admit that the Marquis fled the field. In the same pasquinade our author is termed—

"The Master with the bully face,
And with the coward heart."

to any man of common ſenſe and the leaſt ſervice. They attempted to make me paſs for the man who carried the three ſquadrons to the right, contrarie to orders, tho' I knew nothing of the matter, and the manner of our marcheing told itſelf; but ſoon let that fall, upon the things being traced up to Mar and Kilſeyth, and its being onlie a conſequence of Drummond and Mariſhall's bad conduct. Then it was found out that if I did not run away, I ought to done it, by telling the gentlemen I commanded they were to lay their account with haveing a belliefull of fighting, which tended to diſcourage them. For my part I differ from them in that as well as in many of their other ways of thinking, believing it high time to let them know they were to fight, after haveing declared war ſo longe, and being then within tuo hundred yards of the ennemie; and if, from the beginning, their heads had not been turned by lying and artifice, was it poſſible for people not to believe their own eyes? or needed there any argument to perſuade them. Surelie if Mar and his abettors had any ſhame left, they ought to [have] takne no notice of this, for nothing make[s] ſo ſtronglie againſt them, nor ſerves to prove more clearlie the baſe methods takne by them to deceave their poor credulous countriemen to the laſt. An infinitie of exemples can be given of Officers, and Generalls, and Princes, haveing told the worſt to thoſe who they commanded, that they might not have the leaſt dependance on anything but themſelves; but the perſuadeing people to the laſt there was no ennemie, I believe is without exemple, and the aſſureing there was, when on the field of battle, a new crime, never laid before to any man's charge; and it can onlie proceed from the haveing a very mean opinion of their countriemen, to imagine it muſt frighten them, or that they were glade even to perſuade themſelves they were to doe all, without fighting, the thoughts of which created a horrour in them. Cæſar, who knew almoſt as much of that ſtorie as his Lordſhip of Mar, finding his armie terriefied at the report of the great numbers Juba was bringing againſt them, he called them together, and aſſured them, that their numbers were much greater then the report they had of them and then they reallie were; which was the opinion of Cyrus, in Xenophon, that the ſurpriſe is not ſo great to find the ennemie weaker then people expected, as to find them ſtronger, after judgeing them

very weak; but the finding ane enemie where none was expected muſt ſtill add to it. "Simplex illa et aperta virtus in obſcuram et ſolertem ſcientiam verſa eſt."

The nixt thing that diſpleaſed them was my not purſueing; haveing acted in the whole directlie oppoſite to them. All I have to ſay for myſelf, that I both ſaw and knew them ſo incapable of good, that I was reſolved to rectifie, as much as depended of me, the evills brought upon us by their follies. I'd gladlie aſk Drummond and Mariſhall, Where was the courage of running away from the ennemie's foot oppoſite to them, in the plain field? Could they not have pierced them as well as the Highlandmen? And had they borne doun all before their ſquadrons, as the other did, Would not the Duke of Argyle purſued our left wing with a very ſmall number? And had not their follie and ignorance occaſion'd the running away of their's, Would we not had more to oppoſe to him in the evening? And did they not, in effect, looſe as many, if not more men, then [if] they had done it? But then Drummond muſt have been at their head, who was gone off before, and not careing to come back, gave them the ſigne to follow, and leave that place, which was too hot for him; or, perhaps, underſtood nobodie to be ennemies but thoſe who run away from the Highlandmen, and had turned their backs. Their purſueing likwiſe puſht the Highlandmen, ſeeing themſelves folloued by the gentlemen, to goe on further, which is one of the greateſt faults they have; and had General Witham advanced with his wing of horſe or dragoons, which, we ſaw, he formed very ſoon above Dumblain, and attacked all our Highlandmen and four ſquadrons ſtrageling, what muſt [have] becomed of them? Would they ever known where to aſſemble or make head, if they had not had the three ſquadrons I was with, to come to; and happie, if haveing once turned their backs, they had ſtopt there.[1] I can't as yet wonder enough their goeing ſo near to him in the manner they did, did not draw him upon them. It can't be thought it was the fear of them; and, if any thing, it muſt be the three ſquadrons who he ſaw in good order on the high ground above him. All agree, there's nothing to be done with Highland-

[1] Wetham or Witham never thought of advancing, but retreated to the ground behind Dunblane, and thence to Cornfoot [Corntown], near Stirling Bridge.

men without a bodie of regular troops, becauſe, after they break the ennemie, they run the certain riſque of being deſtroyed by their irregular, hot way of purſueing; and if they have nothing ſtanding firm, to whom they can retire to when preſt, its impoſſible for them to form again. And if he who ſupplied that defect or want did not act the part of ane officer, let any man judge; and the more, that we had the ennemie in front and rear, and did not know where we were to be attackt firſt by them, as the Grey Dragoons ſheu'd us ſoon after. I challenge thoſe Lords further to ſay if their ſquadrons and mine were of the ſame force in the evening; for Mariſhall's ſquadron did not appear, and Huntlie's tuo made but one. Linlithgow had his ſhare of deſerting; and, to be plain, there was none but my own who had not ſome who run away. I don't think that lookt like diſcourageing, or any proof of it.

For Scots gentlemen, tho' of all thoſe in Europe, at preſent the moſt ignorant of war, if they have any confidence in him who commands them, don't readilie turn their backs; and nothing but the prejudices, that were ſo carefullie born in upon them, made them ſo ungouvernable. I am of opinion that if a man has a mind to ſave his bacon, the beſt way that he who commands can take, is to give thoſe he leads, on ſuch an occaſion, their full ſuinge, and let them run out; and after their looſeing him, or he them, which is ſoon done; being well mounted, he can goe where he pleaſes, and pretend ſtrange adventures, when, in the mean time, he might be in a place of ſafetie, without any ſpies on him: and if then that tumultuarie way ſhould ſucceed with thoſe people, haveing judgement enough to keep within diſtance, he has but to joyn, and talk bigg; if it goes wronge, he takes his meaſures, and makes his eſcape, and, it may be, complains of thoſe he was with. But it's preſumeable that he who keeps thoſe under his command together, and never ſtirs from their head, reſolves to ſtand firm, and ſhew good exemple; otherwiſe, he muſt be a fool, and keeps ſo manie ſpies on his conduct, and a dead weight upon him, which he won't get ſhaked off when he would. It's not in our armie alone that ſome have pretended to be everiewhere but where they ought to be in a day of action, that they may have occaſion to be nowhere. I have heard of ſome of note, elſewhere, of whome that

was obſerved. Theſe Lords ought to been contented with that impunitie given them by Mar of doeing what they pleaſed, and aſſumeing all to themſelves, houever worthleſs they are knoun to be, without putting people to the neceſſitie of proveing them wretches capable of nothing but bringeing diſgrace and miſerie on their Countrie.

I ſhant argue further with them from the practice of war, but ſhall leave it to [be] judged from their own mouths. Can Mr Areſkine, Aide-de-Camp to Mar, denay that after the ennemie had turned their backs, and the Highlandmen in the purſuite, his Generall order'd him to goe to the Maſter of Sinclair, and command him to marche to the end of the longe cauſey of Stirveling with the three ſquadrons, but Areſkine, aſſureing him of our left being beat, he changed his mind? This ſheus, that if our left had not been beat he approved of the conduct, ſince I muſt have been of uſe in executeing theſe orders he thought neceſſarie, but, being beat, I am ſure it was ſtill of more ſervice. This order, which was ſoon ſtyfled, was the onlie [one] that ever I heard his Lordſhip of Mar took upon him to give that day, except that of calling the three ſquadrons to the right from their march to the left; for then his heart was up, and his courage raiſed, like Drummond's, at the ennemie's running in the beginning. When the buſſineſs had a ſurly aſpect he happned to be out of the way, and could not be found to give his orders for attacking. Had he been on the front of thoſe tuo thouſand men who ſtood, it was a plain ſurface; and draun up in three ranks, as they then were, and don't take up much ground, he muſt have been ſeen, being on horſeback: If he had been amongſt the three colums who left us, it's preſumeable he had takne the ſame route with them, as all did, except Mr Arthur; but his knowing nothing of their being gone, is a ſufficient proof he was not there; nor was he with the other four ſquadrons of horſe: ſo I may ſay poſitivelie, that before the fire, and the three or four minutes it laſted, he was behind the hill, and very ſnuglie poſted; and his Aide-de-Camp, Mr Areſkine, the onlie man who was with him, a little higher, with his head up to ſee what would come of it: And, upon his telling him the good neus, or calling to him, his Lordſhip gallopt up, as if it had been he who had done all; falls, open mouth, upon Captain of Clanronnald, who he

met comeing back, wounded; for, being loſt, that was the ſooneſt he was found again; and ſeeing all the Highlandmen gone in the purſuite, challenges him for not followuing. The divill's in it, if a hero, on ſuch an occaſion, ſhould not find ſomething to ſay; and, as it was reported by my Lord Mar's oun friends, and particularlie told to myſelf by that Aide-de-Camp alonge with him, who did not think of the conſequences that could be draun from it, and had no further notion than doeing Clanronald juſtice, that he anſuer'd his Lordſhip, tho' in the pangs of death, with a diſdainfull ſmile, and, putting his hand to his breaſt, ſaid, He had got his ſhare, and dyed ſome minutes after. His Lordſhip's horſe happned to throw him ſoon after, he followuing in the purſuite, and it being eaſie to him to draw ane advantage out of everie thing, he gave it out that his horſe was ſhot, and that occaſion'd his falling with him, tho' ſeveralls ſaw the horſe run away. I myſelf heard Mar ſay, to juſtifie what he had firſt given out, That the horſe was found on the road by one Baillie Caddell, who rid him ſome miles, till he fell under him and dyed, but he would ſend north to him to get back his furniture; when ther's nothing more certain then that his white horſe, with one eye, was found in Stirveling, without the leaſt wound.

I don't ſay that a Generall, on whome ſo much depends, as he'd have the world believe did on him, ought to hazard his perſon too much; but then, haveing run no greater danger than a fall from his horſe, he ought to ſcorn the affectation of it, and is bound to let people know where he is in time of action, if he is not ſkulking; that, ſince they were to depend on him, they might have recourſe to him, and had time enough to get off after giveing his orders to attack; but neither haveing frankneſs nor dareing to aſſume it, nor patience enough to look on, knowing theſe particulars to be certain and undeniable truths, I will affirm his Lordſhip was of hideing, that he might diſpoſe of himſelf according to events. Both his horſe and he were very ſafe, in the time of the fire, behind the hill, nor needed not been far out of the way to be ſo, and that his buſſineſs was to fight with lyes, and not armes and pouder. If it could be ſaid for our Generall that he minded any thing but himſelf, the loſs of our baggage might be imputed to him, for it was left in our rear, contrarie to all

cuſtome, without anie guard, on that ground we lay all night, when we could have ſent it to the Houſe of Breco, a guarniſone we had, within four miles of us, where it would have been in ſafetie. And what helpt to make the loſs the greater, was the Highlandmen's takeing it, who wanted no more to determine them to go ſtreight home. They found it in the way where they paſt, in the retreat, who took baggage-horſes and all to help them with it on their road, it being equall to them whither it was our plunder or the ennemie's, ſince that is none of the leaſt of their motives for comeing out.

My Lord Drummond had a favourite ſecretarie and truſtee, his valet-de-chamber, who he uſed to ſend ambaſſadour to France, and paſſes under the name of Lightie William Drummond, who the whole armie accuſed of ſhareing largelie of that plunder; and that very day afforded us another inſtance of his ſolid judgement in the choice of his confidents: One Laurens Drummond, who, everie bodie knew, muſt be let in to all his ſecrets, deſerted from us to the ennemie;[1] but what made it worſe was, his being known to be a ſpie all his life, and, when with us, ſeveralls offer'd to prove that he was ſtill muſter'd a Liutennant in the Scots Fuſiliers at Striveling, and all the letters which came from thence bid us take care of him. Tho' all this was knoun, and told by the fellou's oun relations, who had caught him playing ſuch tricks in other affairs before, my Lord Drummond was not to be perſuaded of it. He was ſo impudent a fellow he would take ſervice in no corps, but keept himſelf looſe, and about my Lord Drummond, as ane Aide-de-Camp, that he might have the better opportunitie of pumping all out of him; which was my Lord Iſla's deſigne in ſending him, knowing hou ſhallow a creature Drummond is. He went tuo-three days' marche to meet Mariſhall; took upon him to range his people, and counted them, and, as Huntlie and his folks told me, did the ſame to them, that he might give the juſter and earlier account to thoſe who ſent him. And this was complain'd of when with us; but Drummond

[1] This is the man whom the old song calls "Lawrie the Traitor." There was a belief that he carried to General Hamilton an order to halt the left, instead of the order to advance, with which he had been charged, and thus contributed to the defeat of the left wing of the Insurgents.

would ſtill ſupport him, as if no man there had any thing to looſe by him but himſelf. It was averred that this fellow called out, All was loſt; and begun the running away: but there were reaſons enough to be given for it without that. If you'll allow to add to this choice of confidents another, who paſſes under the name of Lightie James Drummond, no leſs a counſellour and favourite of his Lordſhip than any of the former, who has been of late the common evidence againſt great numbers of gentlemen, you'll ſay with me, That my Lord Drummond has not belied the caracter of his familie, nor the opinion the Scots Nation had of him and it; and that of his father and uncle. All this while Mar had takne ſpeciall care of his own baggage, and had ſent it off to Breco, but was in great apprehenſions for his papers, that afternoon of the battle: this his Secretarie told, to prove his Lordſhip's preſence of mind; for we then thought that all had fallen in the ennemie's hands, and he was affraid murther would out.

But to return to our ſituation after the battle: We found ourſelves without proviſions, pouder, and men; and tho' we had been near to eight thouſand that morning before, and duble the ennemie's number, and ſenſible that we had diſcouraged the Duke of Argyle's infantrie by ſo rude a rebuke which we had given them; we could not make uſe of our advantage becauſe of the loſs of the five thouſand of our foot which we never ſau again; but tho' they had not left us we muſt have returned to Pearth for want of proviſions. From that ground where we paraded that morning after the battle, we marched back to Auchterarduch, and cantoon'd in and about it that night; next day we marched near Pearth, where we cantoon'd another night, and the day after marched into toun; where my Lord Mar printed an Account of our Battle, in which, with his uſuall modeſtie, he did not a little exaggerat and extoll his own valour; and to ſupport the better what he'd have believed of himſelf, gave each of thoſe champions, who depended moſt on him, a proportion of the honour of that affair, as he thought fit, by which, and putting a fair gloſs on their behaviour, they'd readilie conſent to vouche what he ſaid of himſelf. But, that others may judge of it, by compareing it with the plain matters of fact which I have told, I ſhall inſert it here. I imagine, from a conjecture I made on the Printer's bringing that paper to me before it was printed,

and aſking, If I was pleaſed with that ſlight mention it made of me?[1] for at that time there was not one word in it of Brigadeer Ogilvie's commanding the horſe, that his Lordſhip was then very humble, and was ſeeking to make friends, and had ſent him to ſee if I was ſatiſfied; for he durſt not [have] hazarded to ſhew it me publicklie without his Lordſhip's order, at leaſt I underſtood it ſo; and, takeing little notice of what he ſaid, for I was then at dinner, told him, That, if he ſatiſfied the Lords, he need give himſelf no trouble about me.

All this narrative being intirlie of a piece, I ſhall onlie obſerve one thing very particular: After giveing account, in that paper, of the Earle of Panmure's being wounded, who, from his whole conduct in that affair, deſerved honourable mention, and becauſe of a ſingular modeſtie, tho' he had not been Mar's uncle, he makes an outrageous compliment to his other uncle, Mr Hary Maule, who, with his ſervants, he ſays, reſcued his brother Panmure in the evening. Would not one believe that Mr Hary Maule had broke a wing of the Duke of Argyle's armie in that action? and that he muſt have done as much as ever anie of King David's worthies, or that he muſt have ane infinite number of ſervants?[2] When all he did was to take care of his brother, who the ennemie had left in a houſe, being ſo badlie wounded that he could not goe alonge with them? I don't mean to detract from Mr Hary Maule in this, who, of all the men of the partie, has had one of the beſt caracters; but, I may ſay, he had as little a ſhare in the action as any man there, nor never pretended it, or, I believe, to take his poſt any where, haveing obſerved him ſome time that day in the rear of my ſquadron. So that it's evident the ſlight mentioning of ſome, which was equall to none at all, and the attributeing ſo much to others who had no ſhare at all, was a ſtronge affectation to give all the honour to himſelf, his relations, and Lords, and others his devoted ſlaves, that by keeping up their caracters they might be enabled

[1] The Master of Sinclair is only mentioned as making one of the vanguard of cavalry designed to take up quarters at Dumblane.

[2] Mar's official account states that Lord Panmure, being wounded and taken, was left in a village, and, upon the hasty retreat of the enemy, was rescued by his brother and servants.

to keep up his. He continued ſtill playing his old tricks, for he could doe nothing without them; and got the Ladie Keer by the means of her huſband, who found it both the eaſier and ſurer way to make his court in that manner than by fighting, for he had run away from the battle, to write us accounts of very great havock which we had made of the ennemie, who dyed daylie of their wounds, as if Mar had a mind to perſuade us there was no more of them left; which letters were read publicklie in the Court; and, by her accounts, the number of the killed and wounded in the battle was greater than the regiments themſelves, tho' there was nothing ſo eaſie as judge the number of wounded muſt been few or none, for who were wounded were wounded with ſabres, and not many of thoſe eſcaped.

Seaforth ſtay'd onlie one night in Pearth, and came out to meet us in our marche thither, with the neus of Southerland's[1] haveing takne Inverneſs, who oblidged Sir John Mackenzie to give him up toun and citadell, after a vigorous defence, which onlie coſt the life of one man, who was cruſht betuixt a wall and a door, without any blood ſhed. I was preſent when I heard that very thing propheſied to Mar ſix weeks before, that Sir John would give it up to the firſt who demanded; this paſt the tenth of November, and is a moſt remarkable ſiege. Seaforth, who had ſeen enough amongſt us, undertook to quaſh that ſtorm which did not a little threatne us from the north; for nou Southerland had got together ſeventeen hundred men, of Grants, Frazers, Roſſes, Monroes, Mackeys, Guns, and Southerland, and was threatning to marche ſouthwards. Tho' Mar did not allow this to be true, yet he permitted Seaforth to return, after being about a week with us, upon his promiſeing to doe great feats, and took his guarde-de-corps and trumpet, the marks of ſouveraigntie, alonge with him, for all his Clan had gone off from the field of battle, and were well advanced in their way home. This ended in nothing, as will be ſeen afterwards, but talking big, after that countrie way. It was more for Mar's purpoſe to ſend him north than keep him, it fourniſhing him ane occaſion of promiſeing great things in his name, and flattering our hopes; and that

[1] Sutherland was not present, but Duncan Forbes of Culloden, with the famous Lord Lovat, had certainly taken this important place.

was the great reaſon of keeping up Seaforth's caracter, tho' he expected nothing from him. Houever, it muſt be ſaid that his goeing north was a check to Southerland, and, with Gordon of Glenbucket's followving ſoon after, to raiſe Huntley's men, who had all gone home, made Southerland, who had advanced to Elgine of Murray, tuentie miles ſouth of Inverneſs, return back to it.

We ſent the greateſt part of our priſoners from Pearth to Dundee, with a guarniſone. We ſtill ſeem'd to work hard at our lines, under the direction of the French danceing and fenceing maſter, tho', like Penelope's web, it never advanced, and did not doe near ſo much with a month's labour as I have ſeen four regiments doe in tuentie-four hours. I can't imagine it was the froſt which retarded us, it not being then ſo ſtronge. The greateſt part of our tuo thouſand Highlandmen, who ſtay'd with us at the battle, went home with the ennemie's plunder, and the Chiefs of the nighbouring Clans were ſent out to bring back what they could of their men, but with very bad ſucceſs. Houever, the getting arms, pouder, and monie ſent us from France was trumpt up again; and the certain, tho' private account Mar had of theſe things being ſent us, and the King's comeing, with officers aboundance, would ſoon make us reap the advantages gain'd by our battle, for all that the Duke of Argyle could doe would never make his infantrie paſs the Bridge of Stirveling, or look us in the face, ſo longe as there were anie number of us together. I have been told of late, by my Lord Mar's Aide-de-Camp, Mr Areſkine, that Mar being mightilie affected with this deſolate ſtate, ſett himſelf doun in his chamber, and onlie he and Mr William Areſkine, brother to my Lord Buchan, preſent, burſt out in tears, and, after a longe ſilence, ſaid, with a dejected countenance, I have been conſulting myſelf; I find I will be the ſacrifice, and that I can die. This David Areſkine thought neceſſarie to be told on a certaine occaſion, where he endeavour'd by it to prove that there was caballing amongſt us three days after our returning to Pearth, at which time this ſhould have happned, when I am poſitive there was no ſuch thing; tho', if there had, I don't think it ought to be denyed, for nothing but a lethargie occaſion'd by ane utter ignorance and incomprehenſible ſtupiditie, or a voluntar ignorance, which is yet worſe, can excuſe our not falling on ſome methods

then, to extricate ourſelves out of that abyſs; but ſo far to the contrarie, we ſtill continued to truſt what had ſo long deceaved us, and plounged ourſelves everie day deeper. But the telling, with tears, he could die, was no great ſigne of a firm reſolution, after conſulting himſelf. I never heard that the pooreſt child had not all that reſolution and reſignation to weep when they thought of death. There's no odds betuixt death and death, but in the manner of dying. But this is the hero unmaſked, and in his naturall dreſs. "Heu quam difficile eſt animum non prodere vultu." He was not heard to regrate his Countrie, which would have been the firſt and great concern of a man of the leaſt honour, if we can ſuppoſe any ſuch capable firſt of ſelling it, and nixt, after he could profit no more by the ſale, locking in, with falſe promiſes, ſo many well-meaning men into their certaine ruine, and acting ſo unfairlie and treacherouſlie with thoſe who he engaged, at their oun expenſe, to undoe what he himſelf oun'd was done by his villanie, and for his intereſt. What man, who had been guiltie of any part of this, but would been glade to expiate their crime with his oun blood, or could entertain a thought of liveing, without haveing that too honourable occaſion, for him, of ſacrifiſeing himſelf for thoſe he had betrayed? No: his meaning was, that after examining his conſcience, he formed in it his oun condemnation, and the fear of that violent death and eternall damnation, which, he knew, was a ſuddain and unevitable conſequence of the other, ſtruck him with horrour, not doubting but thoſe who he had ſo groſſlie impoſed upon, would make him the ſacrifice; and, I am convinced, ever after lookt upon thoſe who he thought ſaw clear, or who ſhew'd the leaſt concern for their Countrie, as his ennemies, without haveing any more ground for it than his own fear of the "pallentes umbras Erebi, noctemque profundam," increaſed by his guiltie conſciens.

> [Ergo exercentur] pœnis, veterumque malorum
> Supplicia expendunt.—Virg.

And from that time changed his firſt motive of raiſeing us, which was bread and a reputation, which now, he thought, he had got, into that of ſelf-preſervation; and his whole care was imployed henceforth to ſave himſelf, by keeping up our ſinking ſpirits with freſh packets of lyes, more vigorouſlie

ſupported than ever, which the circumſtance required, never imagineing that the buſineſs could ſucceed. For, after our battle or ſkirmiſh, he did not allow us our ſham meetings, which, before it, were thought ſo very neceſſarie, ſuch as the Court of Generall Officers, as it was then called, compoſed of Generalls Hamilton and Gordon, Lord Drummond, on all occaſions a neceſſarie man, Brigadeer Lyon of Auchterhouſe, and myſelf, an unworthie member. And here I muſt doe Generall Hamilton the juſtice to ſay, that I have heard him propoſe, in thoſe meetings, all that, in my weak judgement, could be propoſed in our circumſtances, which was always minuted and communicated to Mar by Collonell Clephan, our ſecretarie, and his gouvernour, without the leaſt particular ever being takne notice of, or any thing being put in execution, or reduced to practice; which pouer he reſerved to himſelf from the beginning. That of arms and ammunition, another Court, which I was named of, with Brigadeer Lyon and Alexander Maitland, and ſome others who had been officers and ſurgeons, where all the methods of getting and mending old armes were propoſed, as ſearcheing for pouder, and provideing lead, and caſting ball of different calibers, makeing pouder-horns or flaſks, to preſerve the little pouder we had the better, and abſolutlie neceſſarie, had our magazins been filled, makeing flints of thoſe flint ſtones in great plentie on all our ſea coſt, under the want of which we laboured as much as of any thing; makeing patrontaches,[1] or leather purſes in place of patrontaches, for the foot to carrie their ball, and a great many other things of that kind, and all given in to his Lordſhip, as he order'd, by memorials, and ever after ſunk in his pocket, I ſuppoſe, till he had certain occaſions of makeing uſe of them. It was not to be expected he'd ſend any where for pouder, when he would not allow of pouder-horns; which, I may ſay, we could [have] had for nothing, haveing enough of that trade[2] with us, and no want of ſheep and oxen's horns, and no makeing uſe of pouder without them, which muſt be wet when a man is on ſentrie or in marches, and broke and waſted in purſes

[1] [Patrontaches,] *i.e.*, cartouche boxes.

[2] The Scotch tinkers and gypsies are usually also horners, *i.e.*, manufacturers of horn, and [this] observation contains a slur on the composition of the Insurgent army.

or pockets, as the Highlandmen carried it ; the ſame may be ſaid of flints, haveing ſtone enough to ſerve Europe, if cut, and leather purſes to be got for a ſmall matter : Nothing of that kind being ever done, it may be judged what was intended.

I'm convinced all was neglected willfullie, to give the more excuſes for our Generalls deſerting, and whoever preſſt ſuch things, or put his Lordſhip often in mind of them, was thought no good man, and would be unhear'd. But had any man come to Mar to tell him that he had got a litter to bring up ſome old decriped man, and had found out a friend who wanted probitie, and had influence on the old man to put him in to it, and make him joyn us, ſuch a one was the beſt of men, and the braveſt fellow in the world, to whome the King and Countrie ow'd a great dale, and he, or ſuch as he, the onlie capable of doeing good ; and his Lordſhip ſet about it the moment. Or, which was more excuſable, if it was impoſſible to tranſport the old man, and dip him, to inform his Lordſhip he had a hundred, or tuentie pound, which was the ſame, to be ſhure there was no peace till it was got ; and tho' we knew the man to be our friend, and that it was only want of ſtrength that hindred him from joyning, it was willfullie ſpread, and in the moſt publick manner, That he had given us monie freelie, to make him think himſelf diſcover'd, and come to us if he had one ſpunk of life left ; and this leacherie of dipping everie man, without regarde to the incapacitie of ſervice, in all ſtations, by age or other naturall defects, continued till the laſt day of our affair, and he got into a ſhip ; as if all had conſiſted in the ruine of everie familie, and every living creature that wiſht us well, and extirpateing and rooteing out the Nation out of the Nation. And, if he muſt be a politicien, for he can pretend to nothing elſe except to be a villain, I can ſuear that his whole pollitick conſiſted in that.

Mr Francois Steuart, brother to the Earle of Murray, had been our Treſaurer from the beginning, and had charged himſelf with all the monie which came in from the Countrie. A Councill of Finance was then ſet on foot to fall on ways and means of levieing money, and giveing him warrants for the neceſſarie payments ; which laſt pouer Mar ſoon took from them, and Mr Frebairn, the Treſaurer-Depute, in whoſe houſe the monie was keept,

was order'd to take warrants from nobodie but his Lordſhip of Mar, and ſtricktlie injoyned not to communicate to any bodie, not ſo much as his maſter, the Treaſurer, who was bound for all, hou the monie was diſpoſed of, or to what Lords and Gentlemen he gave it; which Mr Francois Steuart, who was not ſimple enough to be ſo treated, was very ſoon aware of, and told it to me, and that he'd drau himſelf out of it as ſoftlie as was poſſible; ſo that our Councill of Finance continued onlie to fleece ourſelves to fourniſh his Lordſhip with monie to bribe the bankrupt Lords and Gentlemen amongſt us to lie for him, and cheat us; nor can it be thought that my Lord Mar, who, till then, never had forgot himſelf, did it on that occaſion, when he did not think one man amongſt us worthie of knowing how their oun monie was diſpoſed of; a moſt ſingular inſtance of our inſufficiencie or ſelf-deniell, and, no leſs, of his bad deſignes. If none of us were good for anie thing we had nothing to doe there; if good for any thing, ſome of us ought to been imployed in what they were good for. Certainlie we are the firſt who ever made war out of no other vieu but ruining ourſelves and poſteritie, without knowing how or what we were doeing.

The Committe of Intelligence, or Secret Committe, was another amuſement given to ſome, who thought they were in the higheſt truſt, and valued themſelves upon it; when all they did was to ſeem uſefull in buſieing themſelves in ſcribbling to engage ſome poor gentleman with lyes, (for the ſtreſs of all turned upon that,) who had eſcaped before, or keeping a correſpondence with ſome woman, or poor tool, who return'd them ſome of Mar's idle ſtories, echo'd back to Pearth from Pearth. For, after examineing who their correſpondents were, and what they were capable of, he made uſe of a third hand to inform that correſpondent indirectlie of everie thing he'd have his Secret Committe believe or ſpread, and that, for want of other neus, was return'd to them in a day or tuo to Pearth; or, when any one pickt up any thing new, to pleaſe Mar, he went to him with all the formalitie and air of importance, as if he had got a letter from Monſieur De Torcie, Secretarie of France, and, houever frivolous, his Lordſhip receav'd it as if it had been of the laſt conſequence; for he was no leſs glad than they, to impreſs it in them, that they were

doeing ſingular ſervice. The Committe of Fourage and Vivers was what ſtood its ground longeſt, for neither horſes nor men could live on wind; but either he chooſe ſuch who knew little of their buſſineſs, or he deſignedlie, to give him pretexts not to goe too far, delay'd the execution of their orders, ſo that we were always from hand to mouth. All the others were, from the beginning, ſhams deſigned by him for amuſement. Tho' his oun motives for erecting them were very good, the principall was to make the whole believe he did nothing without the conſent of thoſe amongſt themſelves fit to adviſe him in theſe different capacities; which was directlie Jethro's advice to Moſes, tho' our deliverer did not follow it in the true ſenſe that the good prieſt of Midian gave it; for, in place of able men, and lovers of truth, hateing covetouſneſs, his choice fell on fools, lyers, and bankrupts, who muſt doe anything for monie; and few or none of any other ſort admitted, except his oun particular friends, or ſuch who he was aſham'd to keep out, who were not ſtronge enough to carrie anything againſt the greater number of others, and underſtood one another, haveing got a hint to take care of them, and often met in a corner without them, keept them in ignorance of what they were doeing and not doeing, and of all their reſolutions, and where the execution ſtopt, for that was not to be inquired into; and they were at laſt, if not docile enough, whipt and laſht, by ſaying they were diſaffected, and puniſht, by ſhewing their neglect of them, and, in effect, turned to nothing but ſo manie lying ſchooles. Few being willing or able to reſiſt all thoſe calumnies, were glade to knock under, haveing it not in their pouer to help themſelves, being ſo far dipt; and not careing to looſe their expectations in caſe it ſucceeded, by raiſeing up againſt them ſo malicious and pouerfull ane ennemie, when a blind complaiſance and lying, which, like the Prieſts, they excuſed in themſelves as a *pia fraus*, was all that was aſkt of them, and brought them honour and monie; without which and his Lordſhip's protection, from his favourite Lords and Generalls dounwards, moſt had made a ſcurvie figure, and he was no leſs neceſſarie to them than they were to him, and the obligations no leſs ſtronge and preſſing. So the whole intent of theſe mock meetings were to gain more friends to himſelf, by diſtinguiſhing ſo many, who were to be helpfull in decoying others, and in

the maine, gull the unthinking part of the world, who are infinitlie the moſt numerous, by makeing them believe that there were great matters always in agitation in thoſe Courts, when all center'd in his Lordſhip of Mar.

Thoſe gentlemen thus employed had another motive, which was, their being exempted from all commands and militarie duties, I mean thoſe who had ſeats in the Civill Courts, and were very ſenſible they had both the eaſe and the profit; nor did it deroge from their valour, while thoſe of honour and note were marcheing in the cold all night, or doeing guards, and ſtanding ſentries, and the whole fatigue throun upon them; but what was worſt of all, and ruin'd their horſes, was the carrieing Mar's letters, which was declared militarie, and all took it in their turn, at all hours, as if it had been a tour of honour, and muſt have ruin'd our cavalrie, tho' they'd had nothing elſe to doe but run about with letters, that he, and all the fooles and knaves about him, were continuallie ſcribling; as if there had been nothing more requiſite but that, when that idle and needless drudgerie could been done on countrie horſes, fitter for the purpoſe, by ſome truſtie fellou's poſtillions, ſince he would not imploy in theſe meſſages that raſcallie pack of Aid-de-Camps about him, who we did not know whence they came, or out of what dunghill, or what they were good for but lying, back and fore, in Pearth, and liveing upon our ſpoiles, haveing got horſes either out of our pockets or eſtates; which, without any deſſigne of ſervice, were ſtill pamper'd in Pearth, for they were as uncapable of carrieing orders in action, as his Lordſhip was of giveing them; and, reallie and trulie, except Clephan, when we were in action, all run away, not to ſpeak of Mr Areſkine, who had not much more to value himſelf on, while the danger laſted, but his being in the quiet place with Mar. How his Lordſhip contrived it to get rid of all the other's ſpies, for they turned upon himſelf on that occaſion, I would gladlie know? and what orders he had to give them? tho' he valued himſelf afterwards on their goeing off, by civillie complaining there was none with him to give his orders to.

Nor was this the onlie hardſhip put upon the gentlemen; for not onlie theſe Polliticiens were exempted from fatigues, but their ſervants, and all the Lords, and their ſervants, for their very grooms and footmen were priviledged, and their perſons ſacred; and, when it's narrowlie lookt into,

the dutie fell very hard on the feu who were not exempted, and the reallie uſefull and ſerviceable gentlemen, being reduced to a ſmall number, were themſelves oppreſſed, and their horſes ruin'd, and they, in a manner, ſlaves to thoſe monſtres, unfit for any thing but confounding of every thing, talking big, and running away, or ſelling them. When theſe generall pretexts for exempting did not include enough, particular ones were invented; ſuch as makeing a King's Phiſitien and King's Surgeon, and giveing them commiſſions, when the King knew nothing about us, or of our being in armes, at leaſt it was ſoon enough to doe it after his comeing. Many other exemples of that kind can be given; as that of Lords haveing one or tuo Aid-de-Camps out [of] the gentlemen, who were free of dutie, as their domeſticks. I muſt confeſs, if all that crew could have fought as they talkt, the ennemie would have had but a bad time of it; and the others, who did the drudgerie, might have excuſed the care they took of themſelves.

Before we fought we were daylie deaved with accounts of the Engliſh Generall, Mr Forreſter's progreſs and ſucceſs; that he had frightned Generall Carpenter; that his numbers had increaſt every marche; and that he was, at leaſt, eleven thouſand men ſtronge; and that the Gouvernment had nothing to make head to him, or oppoſe him, till he got to London. Theſe things were told with circumſtances that I have forgot. But [we] were not longe in our old quarters, when the bad neus of our friends miſſortune at Preſton was brought us, which, no doubt, his Lordſhip of Mar kneu amongſt the firſt; for I had receaved letters of it by the ſame canale that he uſed often to get his, and I, as the others, keept it a ſecret; but a day or tuo after, on its beginning to burſt out amongſt us, Mar made Hary Craufurd, now Sir Hary, ſend him a letter of a victorie obtained at Preſtone. This neus came at tuo of the clock in the afternoon. Cannons were fired before four, and bonfires and iluminations were order'd through the whole toun; bells were rung, and no demonſtration of joy omitted. At five of the clock I happned to goe to Court, and finding General Hamiltone ſitting very penſive in the big room, as cloſe as poſſible to Mar's chamber door, I ſet me doun by him, and, after talking ſome time to him, I aſkt him, Why our Court of Generall Officers did not meet? He ſaid,

Mar had diſcharged its meeting becauſe he was affraid that he and we ſhould enter into the detaile of the armie, and come to know our number, which, it ſeem'd, he'd onlie have knoun to himſelf. Then I aſkt him, If he was to goe that night to the bonfire on the market-place? He ſaid, *Regis ad exemplum;* meaning that he would follow Mar's exemple. For my oun part, I knew too much to be there, and was preſent at none of the mirth.

In a day or tuo the melanchollie account was confirmed from all hands. I never expected better; it was not to be imagin'd that a handfull of raw, undiſciplined men, without armes, care, or thought, could marche ſo far into a countrie, without anie man of authoritie or knouledge at their head, without falling into a ſnare. Mr Douglas had told me enough of them to judge what ſhould happne; tho', I muſt ſay, had they been armed, and any man of authoritie and ſervice at their head, with a few officers, they might have given ſuch troopes as they had to deal with worke enough. But their mock Generalls and Lords, except Wintoun, Darnwater, and Nairne, being not good for much, no more than our oun, by what I have ſeen of the one and heard of the other, it was not in nature that they could ſucceed, and the ſpirits of the beſt men on earth muſt be broake by ſuch leaders. Their pollitick, as ſome of themſelves have told me, was the ſame with ours, which conſiſted in lying, no order, and makeing them believe to the laſt there was no fighting; and, when the ennemie was within muſket ſhot of their barrier, they were not alloued to believe it. They agreed to ſurrender the ſame day we fought.

If I thought that it were conſiſtant with my honour not to diſcover the madneſs and follies of my countriemen to themſelves, ſo that they may not again commit ſuch blunders, ſo contrarie to common ſenſe and reaſon, or that being ſo much traduced as I have been, I could betray, with a criminal ſilence, my oun innocence, I'd ſay,

> Excidat illa dies ævo, nec postera credant
> Secula! nos certe taceamus; et obruta multa
> Nocte tegi propriæ patiamur crimina gentis.
>
> Statius.

When moſt at Pearth were in great joy for this victorie, I never was more uneaſie, and looked on thoſe cannons as a militarie ceremonie at the funeralls of my Countrie and friends, but thought it very extravagant to doe ſo, when we had no more pouder left, tho' that was not the onlie time, for the ſame was done at the funeralls of the Earle of Strathmore, who deſerved it, and more, had we had it to ſpare. Mar's inclination to deceave was ſo ſtronge that the very cannons were imployed to lie to us as well the ennemie, and make both think our magazins were full when we had but a few pounds left either to defend ourſelves or make that great conqueſt of the world, which was not yet to be doubted of; but the buſſieneſs was to be done by retireing, and the leſs pouder we had the ſtronger the excuſe.

If, from the conduct of the whole enterpriſe from its beginning, it be permitted to reflect, on the diſtant and confuſed vieus of ſending a detachment over the Frith, into Engeland, on the foot Generall Hamiltone firſt told me, before Mar came to Perth; and on his ſituation and the ennemie's at that time; and the ſending the Clans, on their firſt riſeing, into Argyleſhire, on no manner of foundation but to tryfle, when it retarded Cameron of Lochiell and Steuart of Apin's joyning, who, with the other Clans, would have made a great bodie at once, of at leaſt four thouſand men; and, in the meantime, complaining ſo bitterlie of Huntley's not joyning, and that it was onlie he who hindred us from makeing a breakfaſt of the Duke of Argyle and his handfull of troopes; and tuo days before Huntlie came, the ſending away, hand over head, Mackintoſh, with the detachement, to paſs the Frith, ſo unprovided; and, if poſſible, more undetermined, as Mackintoſh's management fullie demonſtrate, tho' Mar's intercepted letters to Kenmure and Forreſter did not, where theſe looſe expreſſions and contradictions are deſigned for ambiguities; but for want of ſtile in the great Miniſter, or Secretarie of State, turn to the other, and [this] proves clearlie he did not know how to diſpoſe of Mackintoſh after he paſſed, and that his principall aime was to get rid of him and ſo manie men, and determins him in nothing, but lays the high roads before him, as if he oued them to him, ſo that, If Mackintoſh went eaſt, and was ruin'd, Mar was not to blame: If he went weſt, and had the ſame fate, nothing could be laid to his

Lordſhip's door, for he had ſheu'd him the other way. But if his happie ſtar led him where he was to ſucceed, Mar was to have the honour of it, for he had ſheu'd him the route, and then the buſineſs was done, without his Lordſhip fighting, who was to keep himſelf at Pearth. Next, he excuſed his marcheing till the Clans had joyned him, after that, on the pretext of waiteing Seaforth and Sir Donald Macdonald, the laſt of whom had joyn'd us earlie, with ſeven, or rather eight hundred men; if Mar had permitted him, and left Seaforth in poſſeſſion of Inverneſs, to deale with Southerland, who would be very angrie anie ſhould think that, with his Mackenzies, he was not at that time capable to manage Southerland before the Frazers and others joyned him, a great many of whoſe keenneſs, if not their courage, roaſe on our ruine and Seaforth's abſence. To anie, I ſay, who will reflect on all this, and his Lordſhip of Mar's unwillingneſs to goe out of Pearth, towards Stirveling, to relieve Mackintoſh, when inveſted, and, after his marcheing, his ſtopping ſhort at Arduch, when, upon the horſes advanceing to take quarters in Dumblaine, it was agreed, that Generall Hamilton, on his preſſing it, ſhould be alloued to take poſt with the foot on the longe cauſey at the Bridge of Stirveling, where he was poſitive he could poſt himſelf ſo that the Duke of Argyle would have as bad attacking us as we had to attack him, and lyen there till the Clans had come doun on the other ſide of Forth, and tyed his Grace, with his whole bodie, to the defence of Stirling, while Mackintoſh could eaſilie have found means to joyn the Clans, when the Duke of Argyle durſt not detache, the ennemie being of both hands of him; the ſhamefull excuſe Mar made at that time, all of a ſuddain, by ſaying Linlithgow and Mariſhall had refuſed to doe it, when they were alreadie gone forward with the horſe, and have denyed ſince, in Mar's face, that it was true, will make out clearlie all I pretend to prove. Suppoſeing it were ſo, their pouer with us was very little, or rather nothing, without Mar; ſince he gave them it in a great meaſure, and their intire ſubſiſtance, is this then to be taken for a relevant excuſe? or is Mar ſo ſimple as to think this could paſs? Is it not then evident, by thoſe ſhifts and delays, and by ſending off the Clans, and keeping Sir Donald Mackdonald back, that his Lordſhip would by no means hazard, where he himſelf was preſent, and fell in love with that warm corner

behind his table, in his little room in Pearth, under the pretext of waiteing till Seaforth, the laſt man who he had to expect, came up. When he could not evite marcheing, the affair admitteing of no more delays or excuſes, tho' he ſau and was told we loſt more men by daylie deſertion than we had reaſon to expect from Seaforth; but before Seaforth could or would joyn, he was in hopes Mackintoſh ſhould either ſucceed or be ruin'd, any of which did his buſineſs; without endangering himſelf their miſfortune exoner'd him, and their ſucceſs made him a hero, and on that he depended, and hunge an arſe. The pleaſure of this, tho' not the malicious, couardlie deſigne, is well expreſſt by the poet Lucretius—

> Suave, mari magno turbantibus equora ventis,
> E terra magnum alterius spectare laborem:
> Non, quia vexari quemquam est jucunda voluptas,
> Sed, quibus ipse malis careas, quia cernere suave est.
> Per campos instructa, tuâ sine parte pericli,
> Suave etiam belli certamina magna tueri.

If, to what I have ſaid, be joined the hopes he had of Highlandmen's deſerting on their hearing of bad ſucceſs, and his refuſeing, in the meantime, to fortifie Pearth, and makeing a jeaſt of it afterwards, it can't be doubted that his Lordſhip's meaning was to kindle a great fire of ſtraw, which, tho' violent, does not laſt longe, and keept at a diſtance not to be ſindged, and, under the cover of that ſmoake, whatever way the wind blew, was to get to one of his three ſhips, which the whole time were readie in different ports. What fortifies me more in that opinion is the caracters of the Leaders, or Generalls, his Lordſhip intruſted thoſe unluckie gentlemen to, I ſhan't diſpute with any that my Lord Kenmure was a very honeſt man, but as unfit for that province as any man of that rank can be ſuppoſed to be. Mackintoſh was yet leſs qualified for it, for he had neither rank nor any diſtinguiſhing thing about him except ignorant preſumption, and ane affected Inverneſs Engliſh accent, not common, indeed, amongſt Highlandmen; and if I may be alloued to quote the caracter that a Ladie gave of him, who I wiſh moſt of our men had reſembled either in ſenſe or any other thing, I mean my Ladie Nairne, who, regrateing heartielie her

huſband's being concern'd where Mackintoſh was Commander, ſaid, He had been herding of Highland cattle this eight and tuentie year, that he was turned ox himſelf. If theſe, and Mr Forreſter, were to doe the work, who could not make a better Generall then our oun Lord Drummond? I muſt ſay the Engliſh armie was much changed, and that Old England ſtood but on a bad baſis; and had it fallen, they'd been cruſht under its ruines, and could not be ſuppoſed to have wit enough to extricate themſelves.

Thoſe of Preſton being reduced, ſome regiments of dragoons were order'd from thence to Stirveling, and we had the accounts of the Dutch troopes[1] being imbarkt for Scotland, and that artillerie was ſhipt in at London, to be made uſe of againſt us at Pearth, where we were verie calme; the thirteen of November haveing been the day of the criſis of our great feaver. One might imagine that all this ſtorm threatning to break upon us, at a time when we were abandoned by all the world, and even by our oun Highlandmen, of whom we had not above a thouſand remaining, and no hopes of haveing them back again, who, like the Numidians of old, mentioned by Salluſt, when they once turned their backs "Quo cujus animus fert, eo diſcedunt; neque id flagitium militiæ ducitur, ita ſe mores habent," or the leaſt hopes of getting pouder or armes for thoſe we had, in ane open place, that gentlemen of numerous families and eſtates would nou open their eyes and ſee their ruine inevitable, except they fell on ſome ſuddain expedient to avert it. No, there was not one ſoule ſpoke one word of it, or, I believe, thought of it, even tho' we had ſeverall alarmes of the Duke of Argyle's comeing to attack us, with the feu he then had; which frightened us prodigiouſlie, till we were undeceaved; but ſo ſoon as that rumour ceaſed, we were all merrie, expecting the King everie minute, and yet we had not at that time the leaſt account of him; but from my Lord Mar's forged letters, without any other authoritie, nor ſo much as a ſcrape of a pen from Collonell Hay and Doctor Abercrombie, Sir John Areſkine, and Charles Forbes, who we had ſent to France. In a word, the King's comeing alone was enough to recover all; and with that enthuſiaſtick cant did we pleaſe ourſelves. If there were anie who now or

[1] Six thousand Dutch Auxiliaries landed from Holland.

after loſt hopes, they went home without ſaying any thing; as a good manie gentlemen did, and depended on the good management of thoſe they left at Pearth, without any further regarde to themſelves or countrie. In this infatuation we continued without either brigue, caballing, or any uneaſineſs, or endeavouring in the leaſt either to fall on methods to ſupplie our wants, or ſave ourſelves.

Whatever I thought, I can be poſitive I never ſpoke to anie bodie of what I ſaw clearlie, except to Mariſhall, who, I believe, was ſent by Mar to pump me; for Lords who want, will be made uſe of on such occaſions. He ſpoke firſt of it to me, walking in the King's guardens at Pearth; and, after telling me that he fear'd the worſt, I told [him], He needed not fear it, but depend upon it, for I was ſure we were ruined. He aſk't me, What remedie I could propoſe? I ſaid, There was no other to be propoſed but to endeavour to get terms, and make a fair capitulation with the Gouvernment, without which, I was not for giveing myſelf up. I was ſurpriſed to hear him anſuer ſhort, That he'd rather be hanged. I ſaid, It might be ſo; but I did not believe the generallitie of the gentlemen who had either eſtates, wives, or children, would be of his opinion; and, for my own part, Tho' I had neither, I had been ſo longe a ſtrouler, back and fore, in the world, that I was wearied of it; and, ſince I had a ſmall expectation at home, did not care to throu it away to no purpoſe, if it could be ſaved. But my concern for myſelf was not ſo great as for the great numbers of poor gentlemen, ſince I had a trade that, I believed, might get me bread in one ſtation or other, haveing the languages; but I could not ſee the leaſt ſhadow of reaſon for looſeing thoſe poor gentlemen and their families; nor could anie man, in his right ſenſes or reaſon, tell me it was poſſible our affairs could be recover'd. He bid me, with a laugh, Lay aſide reaſon, younge man, that's ane edged tool at this time of day. I ſaid, I thought it was the laſt thing to be laid aſide, and was ſorrie there was ſo great a neceſſitie for it; and then, to amuſe, propoſed we ſhould ſhut ourſelves up in ane old houſe of his, the Caſtle of Dunnotre,[1] which, he ſaid, Drummond had told him was very

[1] The ancient family seat of the Earls Marischals, very strongly situated on the coast of the Mearns. It is singular the Earl seems to speak of [it] only by report.

ſtronge; that we might have the honour of reſiſting laſt, of the whole Nation. But this went no further; onlie, I ſuppoſe, it was told to Mar, who himſelf fell ſoon into a methode of rouzeing us out of that lethargie, by propoſeing his Aſſociation; but it will not be proper to enter on that ſubject untill I mention ſome things that happned before it.

After our returne to Pearth, thoſe Highland Chiefs, whoſe followings were in the nighbourhood, were ſent home to bring them back; which was not to be done, for both the leſſer ſort of Highland gentlemen, if it is not a crime not to call them all ſo, and the Commons, could, by no intreaties, be perſuaded; their curioſitie was at that time intirelie ſatiffied, and thought they had done a great dale in ſtaying ſo longe with us; and, if they forced fortie or fiftie to return to us with them, they return'd home the day after; their nighbours and thoſe of their name not being there. Mar was himſelf ſo much convinced it was ſo, that he did not ſend Glengarie, or Captain of Clanronald's brother, who ſucceeded him, nor Sir Donald MacDonald, Sir John MacClean, Lochiell, and Apine home, whoſe Clans, lying at the greateſt diſtance in what we call the far Highlands, he ought to ſent off firſt, to bring back their men, it requireing more time, and their followings the moſt conſiderable both in numbers and the goodneſs of men, as we commonlie judged. No; he rather chooſe to keep them to be his guard-de-corps, with the inconſiderable number that ſtay'd with each of them, and pay'd them ſuingeinglie out of our treaſaurie for their pains; for he knew who he was to oblidge. Notwithſtanding, moſt offer'd, if not all, to goe and bring their people, and leave the command of the feu who ſtay'd to the nixt conſiderable of their Clan, till they came back to us; and it was certain, if they were to be brought, nothing but their maſters goeing could [have] done it, for theſe are leſs tainted with the nighbourhood of thoſe of the Low Countries, and are thought more faithfull and obſequious to their maſters; which was what all ſaid from the beginning, ſo that it was certaine we had more grounds to expect them then any; for the Duke of Athole's vaſſalls would no more obey the Marquiſe of Tullibardine, or his brother Lord George, his Grace haveing takne care to ſhew them where all was goeing; and the loſs of their friends at Preſtone, who they lookt on as alreadie hanged, by following the orders of Tullibardine, ſtun'd them, and,

as it was very naturall, made them give great attention to one who, at all other times, they had the greateſt reſpect for, and to whom they knew the Act of Parliament had given the propertie of their eſtates, without further proſecution; a great many of thoſe vaſſalls haveing ſmall eſtates to looſe, and, without ane earlie ſubmiſſion, were everie way in a worſe ſituation then any of the Highlands, not haveing ſo much to hope as a protection at home for their lives; dreading the Duke more then the Gouvernment, for he could find them out in everie corner of the Highlands; their tennants under them could not miſs followeing their exemple, and had the ſame terrour on their ſpirits, both for their little herds of cattle and lives. So it was to be fear'd, ſome of them might, to recover favour, turn againſt us, tho' I am convinced very unwillinglie; yet the temptation on thoſe poor people was very ſtronge; and not longe after, ſome were actuallie in arms, and came to attack a magazine of ours, in a houſe of the Duke's. While we were in ſucceſs, as we thought, none was ſo maltraited with petulant tongues as that great man, which, with regarde to his intereſt, he muſt be oun'd to be; which Mar encouraged from the beginning, for reaſons I have alreadie given; and being ſo agreeable to his Lordſhip, continued to be the jeaſt of all the mob during our affair, and many a lye ſaid of him, ſo that our diverſion was like to coſt us dear. The Laird of Weems' vaſſals, who had joyned Struan, were nou more againſt than for us; and Struan's, betuixt the Duke of Athole and Weems, durſt not move, tho' they'd had a mind. Garntullie's vaſſalls were in the ſame apprehenſions of the Duke of Athole.

Not to goe further into that detaile, betuixt exemple, fear, and the inclination the whole had to ſtay at home, the tide turned upon us, oueing in a great meaſure to the influence the Duke of Athole had on his nighbourhood; for of thoſe who Mar called his oun vaſſalls, and run away before we came out of Pearth, of that hundred men, for that was all, not one ever came back to us. Nobodie ever pretended Drummond's would, for Lord Strathallen, and Logie, who had given him the name of their folks, were now priſonners, and neither his Lordſhip of Drummond's oun or their's would ſtir at this time, not being Highlandmen, and only forced out in the beginning by Tullibardine,

and had not ſtay'd longe with us. Could they have keept his Lordſhip of Drummond at home, we could eaſilie diſpenſed with both him and them, for any benefit we had by either. Bredalbine's three hundred men were on the ſame foot with the reſt, they were gone home; and his Lordſhip, too cunning not to ſee through the whole affair, we could never promiſe much on his friendſhip. His undertakeing to ſend us tuelve hundred men, and his takeing monie for the whole, when he never ſent but three, taught us what we had now to expect from him, tho' the caracter of his whole life did not; his buſieneſs was to trick others, and not to be trickt. Mar excuſed himſelf to one of my acquaintance, but ſaid, It was better to give then irritate, and make him ſend the other nine hundred to the Duke of Argyle. In the mean time, our purſes paid for it, and we grinded. I am aſſured that my Lord Drummond, who was intruſted by the Court of St Germains with the whole Scots affairs, had orders to communicate all to Bredalbine, and take his advice. I not onlie defie all Brittain to find ſuch tuo, of ſo different talents, to couple together, but all mankind, to ſheu me that, ſince the creation, there was ever ſuch a truſtee and ſuch a counſellour. James the Seventh himſelf, who of all men had the knack of that, fell ſhort of this choice. But this was not all of Bredalbine; he put Campbell of Glenderule upon us, a man who had been evidence and informer in that forged plot againſt Duke Hamilton and the Duke of Athole, and God knous hou many others of our partie, of the firſt rank and dignitie, but was happilie diſcover'd. This man, who had always lived on his wits, Mar haveing himſelf had a hand in imploying him in that former plot, was nou, and continued, in all our buſſieneſs, to be one of the principall men of his Councill; a very cunning fellow, and, like his Lordſhip, had neither eſtate nor reputation to looſe, but would ſerve him, nor no man, for nothing. His great and more particular province was to waite cloſe upon thoſe Chiefs to whom we gave the name of Clans, to find out their doubts, that Mar might prevent everie thing timeouſlie; and no doubt but he was imployed in everie thing, being more with Mar then any bodie, tho' ane eye-ſore to the whole. Nor can his Lordſhip ſay he was ſure he did not ſerve againſt us; but for that we muſt take Sir Heugh Paterſon's word for it, who aſſured us, with a grave air, that Mar knew

him, everie one of thoſe being readie to ſupport others caracters, and run doun the men of honour, who had but a ſorrie time of it. Auchterhous being killed, there was nobodie to bring out the Aboyn men, tho' their inclination had led them to come to us, no more then Ogilvie's, that younge Lord being ſick; not one of Strathmore's ſtay'd; I believe the ſame might be ſaid of Panmure's, for, if any, they were very few, and he not in a condition, being badlie wounded. Not to make a further enquiry, or ſay more, we could not ſo much as form a plan or ſcheme to bring any bodie out. This was viſible to many gentlemen, who had ſeen hou treaſonable it was to ſpeak their minds, when the Lords, Aid-de-Camps, and penſignes ſpoke otherwiſe, and dropt off without ſaying one word; and this was the caſe of thoſe of Mariſhall and Huntley's ſquadrons, a great many of whom went off home, and returned anſuers that they had no more money; talkt before their leaveing us as big as ever, and continued doeing ſo when at home, and left us to manage the reſt; when they had their oun vieu in it, of haveing to ſay for themſelves that they had ſtay'd as ſhort while with us as they could, after being threatned and forced out; and imagineing they were to be overlooked by the Gouvernment, and too little to be takne notice off, the onlie way to encounter Mar, when the others of more note would ſtand the brunt. It's impoſſible to detache man from himſelf; ſome have greater views, and ſome leſſer; ſome well diſgeaſted, and others raw and undiſgeaſted; ſome intirlie pernicious, and others innocent; ſome directlie oppoſite to what they profeſs, and others conſonant and agreeable to it; but few or none want their back-game, which nothing but time can diſcover.

The more our miſfortunes thickned upon us, the more need there was for lyes, which, when Mar had got time to recover himſelf, for I obſerved a dead calm for eight days or more after our getting back to Pearth, ſprung up of freſh, with more impetuoſitie then ever, as if he had open'd a neu ſluice, and that torrent, haveing had time to feel pulſes, and get neu aſſurances, and confirm all his friends in their dutie, carried all before it. Tho' theſe were ſtill the old lyes, for man's imagination could contrive no more than what we had alreadie heard, yet they had neu vigour; and every man was to doe his beſt to deſerve his

penſion or pay. What ſtruck me moſt, being intirelie neu, and ſurpaſſed all I ever heard, was a ſermon which was pronounced by one Barclay, a Scots-Iriſh prieſt of the Church of England, chaplain to Mar, if I'm not miſtakne, on a day of thankſgiveing, or the firſt Sunday after our return to Pearth, I won't be poſitive; who, after raiſeing our hopes by the great advantages gain'd in our battle, turned to Mar, and took up the greateſt part of a longe ſermon in expoſtulateing, exorting, and begging, and praying him, with expreſſions full of more zeale and paſſion than he addreſſed himſelf to God Almightie, not to hazard on another occaſion, as he had done ſo latelie, that ſo dear, ineſtimable, and invaluable perſon of his, the loſs of which nothing could repair to his countrie. I muſt confeſs I don't pretend to paſs for the moſt devote, and can allow myſelf freedom enough, but this made my hair ſtare, to ſee God ſo viſiblie mockt, as well as men abuſed, the Church profaned, and the chair of veritie proſtituted, and that by one of a Church who has the pouer of ordination. Believe me he was in the right who ſaid, Prieſts of all religions are the ſame. How little doe they ſtand, on all occaſions, to make ane ingratiating libation of the blood of their countriemen, and without the leaſt ſcruple! This parſon was very uſefull to him, and as active in the ſtreets, in ſpreading Mar's ſtories, as he was impudent in the pulpit; and it was he who wrote ſome little papers that were printed at Pearth. He had a bloodie tongue before we fought, and, being a thuacking fellow, no man became a broad-ſuord better, or threatned to make more uſe of it. His air and carriadge was much liker that of a dragoon than a prieſt; but when it came to earneſt he run away, and franklie oun'd he was miſtakne in his man, and, not knouing himſelf, believed he had more courage, which, I confeſs, was very honeſt of him, and the virtue, next to courage; to own the want of it.

Mariſhall, haveing loſt not a feu of his ſquadron by goeing home, he endeavoured to recruite out of Huntlie's fourſcore horſe; for, of both his horſe and foot, that was all which ſtay'd with him. Gentlemen haveing nou drain'd their pockets, it was thought they'd be glade to joyn him, who could procure them pay, and emiſſaries brigued amongſt them. Duffus, the onlie of Seaforth's equipage who was left behind, there being more monie amongſt us then in the North, ſet about plucking Huntlie on the

other hand, as he pretended modeſtlie, to raiſe a troop, did what he could to carrie away thoſe about Elgin from him; attackt me, and was at pains to perſuade one David Sinclair, who I had armed, and came alonge with me from home, and, like a good recruiter, drunk hard, and offer'd good pay, tho' that gentleman, as he told him, was in no want. His Lordſhip thought he had better pretenſions to everie bodie of that name than I. Were it not out of reſpect to ſome others more then his Lordſhip, I could tell where his ſmall pretenſions that way are founded, which, if poſſible to diſgrace ſuch a monſter more then he does himſelf, would doe him or his familie no honour. Mar's friends endeavoured to deboach the very ſervants, to weakne the ſquadrons of thoſe who they thought were not as well affected to Mar as themſelves; witneſs Sir Heugh Paterſone's promiſeing to get a gentleman, the Laird of Forſet, the commiſſion of King's Fauconner, if he could procure him a ſervant who was with a gentleman in my ſquadron, when he could not perſuade the fellow himſelf. This was the ſhort way of turning all looſe; and I told Sir Heugh, That if ſuch things were done, we could not be longe of goeing into confuſion; that ſervants would too ſoon know their value, and things of that kind were directlie deſtructive; nothing hinder'd him to get hundreds, if he'd pay them, either in toun or countrie, without deboaching thoſe who were engaged. Upon his blabbering ſome ſtuff or other, I told, I did not deſire to convince him of the reaſonableneſs of what I ſaid, but, by God, neither he nor Mar ſhould get that man, and adviſed him to reſt content with what I told him, which he thought fit to doe. Many ſuch little methods were takne, without any ſucceſs; for neither Mariſhall, Duffus, nor any of them, could ever recruite one man; and, from the beginning to the end, I had the ſtrongeſt ſquadron, without any receaveing of the publick money; and, at that time, Sir Alexander Bennerman of Elſick, one who had credite for more monie, three times, then Mariſhall, had offered, more then once, to leave him and joyn me, not being longer able to bear his inſolence: He was turned ſo great a man, by Mar's protection, that he ſcorned takeing any notice of the gentlemen, or returning a ſalute in the ſtreets, which, like a younge man, he had done from the beginning, tho', before he got them out, no man was ſo ſubmiſs or humble; and ſome

were not wanting to tell, that with all his Lordſhip's little pride and vanitie, which, they ſaid, he had got out of the fine familie of Drummond, that they ſhould be ſorrie their circumſtances were alike; and moſt under his command complained griveouſlie. I told Sir Alexander, it would doe no good, but widen breaches and create more uneaſineſs amongſt us if he came to me. Sir Robert Gordon, before we fought, offer'd to joyn me, and bring nine or ten with him; but, on my deſireing him not to doe it, not being willing either he or I ſhould diſoblidge Huntlie by his leaveing him, he joyn'd Mariſhall for that day onlie, which made him, for one day, ſtronger then me; but from the beginning, to the laſt that I left them, in ſpite of Mar and the publick monie, I was the ſtrongeſt, and none ever left me; and, if ever I diſoblidged any of the gentlemen, it was in points of ſervice, which they ſoon forgave me.

It was eaſie to ſee, by no complaints being made of thoſe gentlemen who left us, and as few endeavours to bring them back, and our recruiteing onlie in Pearth from one another, that our diſſolution was drauing near, I may ſay without the great reaſon, the fear of ane ennemie; for a conſtitution like ours was very valetudinarie, and liable to thouſands of diſeaſes; all was ſo depraved and vitiated; ſo many bankrupt Lords, as many botches and boils. Amongſt the many inſtances can be given of thoſe who deſerted; Thomas Bruce was the firſt who deſpaired of the countrie, and ran away that very morning of the day of the battle, and never appear'd more amongſt us: Till then the greateſt favourite Mar had, and the moſt inſtrumentall by lyes, for that was all he could doe, in bringing his countriemen out, and one of thoſe ſent by Mar to myſelf; the boldeſt man on earth while with us, as I have alreadie mention'd, but would by no means come back, which Mar would not [have] deſired of him, but that he was his own man and uſefull to him, tho' all knew he run away from us like a villain; and, from the minute he got home, which was that night before we got off the field of battle, for he was met rideing very hard, he endeavoured his peace: Yet Mar ſaved his caracter as much as was poſſible, by giveing out that he was doeing us more ſervice where he was, then with us, and that he had ſent him away; while all the letters Mar and Mr Hary Maule could write, had no

influence upon him; and all who went away were never complain'd of, but excuſed. Mar's buſſieneſs, and the others who honoured themſelves, as they thought, with being as guiltie, or at leaſt next guiltie, were affraid of the honeſt men who ſtay'd, wiſhing heartilie they'd ſlip away quietlie, without ſaying anything; and encouraged them to it, by letting them ſee they excuſed thoſe who did it moſt ſcandalouſlie, and were the greateſt of malefactors; that the whole villanous gange might have it to ſay, that they were the laſt who deſerted their Countrie, and build a caracter upon it, and have it in their pouer to dip their Countrie as unreaſonablie and unwarrantablie at another time as they had done at this, when their onlie game was to deſert it, haveing nothing to looſe in it; but ſo longe as thoſe ſtay'd, did not know if that could be done ſo convenientlie. But if they went away, they might draw another advantage out of it, by haveing the caracters of the whole in their pouer, and they in full libertie to give and take, complain of and excuſe, whoever they could hope at another time to make tools of, for their ends; and in the meantime, inſtead of ſtealling or ſneaking away, which they muſt doe out of fear of them, and even of ſome of their own, who were bubled by them, goe off triumphing and vaunting what could they doe, for they were deſerted by all.

Thoſe not goeing off, there was a neceſſitie to recruite, to weakne them if it was poſſible, and ſtrengthen themſelves with makeing their own guard-de-corps ſtronger, at the expence of thoſe who they looked on as their ennemies, for they could have no other reaſon; and whither Duffus or Huntlie commanded, the ſame men, I believe, will be found not equall to the cauſe; and, if there be anie odds, they are very great of Huntley's ſide, ſince they naturallie deſired to ſtay with him, and could not be bribed out of his hands; and, certainlie, a man of the greateſt rank and conſequence was not to be brought unto the levell of a fellow who was a vagabond, without a cottage in the Countrie, and never cut out for anything but ſpending ane eſtate in plain drinking, if he'd ever had anie; and, ever ſince his ſhip was takne from him, goeing about begging, for no mortall was fool enough to lend him. Was not the truſt of the countrie, or its honour, ſafer in the one's

hand than the other? or can ſuch a man admit of any compariſon with the leaſt of Huntlie's vaſſalls. But, when monie could not doe to gain a ſervant, what ſtrech was that of offering a commiſſion to ane old gentleman who came to ſee us, to gain that ſervant, his baſtard ſon; it may be judged hou commiſſions were given in the beginning, when, for ſuch ſlight reaſons, they were offering them at laſt; or that they were very much preſſt, and damnablie afraid of themſelves. As to our conſtitution, it was ſo bad, that what we complain'd of as our greateſt miſfortune was our preſent life; for had our Highlandmen comed back to us, we had not ſubſiſted eight days in Pearth, or very little longer. In that time both our proviſions muſt have been eat up, and our whole ſtock of monie ſpent, not to ſpeak of other wants; and if, without theſe tuo, Mar could have ſubſiſted ſo many men, he has found out a ſecret which hitherto has been much wanted.

While in this ſtate, Keppoch,[1] a Highland Chief, and vaſſall, or rather tennant of Huntlie's, came to Pearth with tuo hundred and fourtie men.

[1] The situation of MacDonald of Keppoch was very singular. He and his ancestors had disdained to take any charter or grant of the extensive valley of Glenspian and Glenroy, and other possessions, which the Clan had possessed from time immemorial, according to their disdainful expression, that they would never hold their lands by a sheep-skin. Thus, upon the Record, the Duke of Gordon was possessed, by all apparent title, of the Keppoch country before the year 1745, when the sheep-skin prevailed over the sword. The Keppoch family was at first better off than other Insurgents; for the Gordon family, although now in possession of their lands, gave the attainted Chief very beneficial leases. But when the forfeited estates were restored to others, the condition of Keppoch was worse than that of any one; for no part of his property having ever come into the possession of the Crown, there was nothing which could be restored to them. The Gordon family, however, continued to be uniformly generous towards this distressed family, until the last of them, a gallant young officer, fell in Portugal.

The MacDonalds of Keppoch were always a very independent and untameable Clan. They gave distinguished proofs of their courage at the battle of Glenroy, one of the last clan battles fought on a great scale, when they defeated the MacIntoshes, though assisted by a regular body of soldiers under Mackenzie of Suddie.

Like their neighbours the Camerons, they were considered as particularly ad-

He had never been with us before; but, hearing of a battle, and that there was plunder, got his men together, and robbed the other Highlandmen who were goeing home ſtragling with the pillage of our baggage, and what they had takne out of the Low Countrie; and, haveing ſecured it, he and his folks took ane itching to ſee that countrie where ſo many good things were got, being ſo often invited, and being told, before he left home, that we were in a very good condition, haveing banged the ennemie. Mar was extreamlie civill to him, and, knowing him to be the man of the Highlands who is no leſs famous than the others for his addreſs in robbing and love to monie, ſtruck inſtantlie up with him, and he, in a day or tuo, took no more notice of his maſter Huntlie than any of the others. Hou much of the readie he got I can't tell; but Colin Simpſon, who had the delivering of the bread, told me Mar had ordered him to give him bread for five hundred, if he called for it, and by no means to ſtand with him, and pleaſe him at any rate. The leader ſtay'd and receaved a good pay, but the men went home, the greateſt part of them, in few days after, and not longe ere all were gone, took what they liked beſt on the road, that they might not return emptie handed.

dicted to depredation on their neighbours, and claimed as an honour the character which others, and Lowlanders especially, imputed to them as a reproach.

Patten, who probably had the account which he has given us of the Keppoch of 1715, from his rival Mackintosh, for he mentions the claim of superiority claimed by the one chieftain, and successfully resisted by the others, censures him for what he terms his emulation to MacIntosh; and goes on to say that he was a man of great subtlety and cunning, but never supported his pretensions to serve the Stuart cause by a single act of bravery, but "at Gilley Crankey, Cromdale, and Sheriffmoor, he always shewed his face, but never drew his sword." It appears plainly that Keppoch was not at Sheriffmuir at all, and the rest of that picture seems dictated by the hatred of a rival chieftain, who, being along with the division which joined Forbes, had an opportunity of making what impressions he pleased on Patten. The author is probably correct enough when he states that Keppoch's people "are expert at nothing more than stealing and public robberies, for at Perth they made a good hand in this way of business among the country people, and others of their own party."—Patten's History of the late Rebellion, &c., pp. 97, 2d Edition.

The reports of the Duke of Argyle's paying us a viſit terriefied from time to time; but when theſe went over, we knew to make ſome pleaſant lye ſucceed to them, which again elevated our ſpirits. To make all readie for our retreat we had ſent the horſe to cantoon over the Tay, in the Carſe of Gourie. The reaſon given for it was, ſince we had a mind to defend the toun with the foot, in caſe of the Duke of Argyle marching to us, it was beſt to make our diſpoſition before hand; but the real reaſon was, a diſpoſition for running away, in caſe the Duke of Argyle had made a quick marche; the getting our horſes over the Tay in the hurrie, in ſmall boats, would have retarded our retreat, and created great diſorder and confuſion; it put the gentlemen out of the toun, where, they being together, might have brigued and caballed; but, being ſeparated in the countrie, they would loll away their time without reflection, and he ſend them freſh packets and hinder them from intire languiſhing. The French dancing maſter was ſtill at work, but never advanced; and did not compleat one part of his lignes, which, if he had, would have been to no purpoſe, as they were contrived. Mar haveing ſo diſpoſed of things, and being ſenſible that there were ſome amongſt us who he could never detache on any pretext from the true intereſt of their Countrie, and who did not want his monie, or he or his abettors could ever gain one inch upon by all their efforts, and ſaw as clear as himſelf through everie thing, and what all tended to, and were not without friends, all whom he lookt upon as diſaffected to him, and who, when his monie was at ane end, which was then very near done, or, when the danger preſſt, which he did not know how ſoon, might infect his oun adherers, he bethought himſelf of ane Aſſociation upon honour and conſcience, a ſtratagem which, if it paſſed, would bind thoſe who he gave out he ſuſpected, but in reallitie feared, and at ſame time be ſtronge fetters upon his oun, and the onlie he had left, haveing little more monie; by which ſacred tyes both were to be hoodwinkt into a blind ſubmiſſion to his arbitrarie will; and if any of either happned to pronounce one word which he could conſtruct contrarie to his deſſignes, he being the judge of all, it was in his pouer to declare them impious and infamous. If, on the contrarie, thoſe who he was affraid of refuſed joyning in a thing which had ſo ſpecious a pretext, it was eaſie to raiſe ſuch differences

and animoſities betuixt his oun and them, while his monie laſted, and ſcrew them up to ſuch a pitch that afterwards they'd never lay them aſide, or hear one anothers reaſons with patience, and, being thus heated, could never cement to look to themſelves, while he was to work his oun point by their diviſions, by takeing away as much as poſſible all credite from thoſe he dreaded, and, if poſſible, make them decamp, and leave the unthinking blind part to him and his abettors to manage, who he hoped to lead over the precipice without the leaſt difficultie, while he himſelf had made a path to eſcape and ſave his own life, with the deſtruction of the whole, and, at ſame time, free himſelf, and thoſe hungrie, couardlie, bankrupt villains who ſtuck to him, from the load and reproache of all the miſeries they had brought upon their Countrie, and lay it on the ſhoulders of thoſe who, after denouncing, and proveing his and their onlie deſſigne was to betray it, would willinglie laid doun their lives to ſave it. This is not the onlie ſnare which his Lordſhip had ſet to cautch us; of the great number there was one very remarkable, which, haveing forgot in its proper place, I ſhall inſert here before narrateing what paſt about the Aſſociation, being almoſt of the ſame nature.

Some time after the paſſage of the Frith, his Lordſhip haveing then got his commiſſion, our numbers in different places being conſiderable, and the hopes great to thoſe who lookt no further then the outſide of things, and thought the weight of mob was ſufficient enough to doe our buſſieneſs; haveing then made his Generalls, and formed his partie, he fram'd an Oath, I believe the longeſt that ever was heard of: not content to have ruin'd our eſtates, families, and perſons, by the truſt repoſed in him, and giveing credite to his promiſes, but, haveing plunged us out of our depth, as if he had been a profeſſed agent of the Divill, attempted the damnation of our ſoules; and, without conſulting with anie bodie but his maſter Satan, thought to ſteall it upon us by ſurpriſe, drew out tuo Regiments, the one his uncle Panmure's, whoſe plainneſs and ingenuitie he took advantage of, and the other my Lord Ogilvie's, a minor, who could not faile to follow the other's exemple, and tendered it to the tuo Regiments without the leaſt preamble, or any of them reading it. I, happning to hear it, went to the place where they

were to give the Oath, and came there before it was begun; the croud was ſo great, and I at ſuch a diſtance, that I did not hear it all diſtinctlie, but by the time it took up in reading, it was a large ſide of a ſheet of paper that it was wrote upon, if not more. I heard diſtinctlie enough that it was ane Oath of fidelitie to King James the Eighth; and, in the end, every man was bound by it, in his ſeverall ſtation, to give dutiefull obedience to the ſuperiour officers, and never to deſert the cauſe; and ſeverall other clauſes that I have forgot. In returning I met with Mr Archibald Ogilvie and Sir Robert Gordon, who had been hearing of it read; they aſkt me, How I liked it? I ſaid, I did not love it at all; and, in teſtimonie of my not loveing it, I never would take it, and would hinder as much as I could all my friends from takeing it. I wondered at Mar's impudence to pretend to ſurpriſe us in putting a thing ſo arbitrarely upon us, without communicateing it to any bodie, and which no King ever attempted without conſent of Parliement; that I could put no other conſtruction on it but that Mar was turned both King and Parliement, and we brute beaſts; and that, in the main, it was more ane oath of fidelitie and alledgiance to Mar, and the Generalls he had made, then any other thing. I aſkt, How it could be expected I ſhould ſuear to obey Drummond, Mariſhall, Linlithgow, Southeſque, and a great many others, as unworthie as they, who were either children or worſe? I did not envy their commiſſions, but I could not, in my conſcience, ſo much as promiſe to obey them, and what I heard of the oath carried a contradiction in itſelf. To obey them, and ſerve the King faithfullie, I could not reconcile; beſides, Mar might make his footman Will generall next day; that it was time enough to take oaths to a King when he came; but to doe it before, or there was either a viſible fund to ſupport us, or pouder, or armes, and while we were intirelie left to ourſelves, was dounright damning the whole willfullie for Mar's diverſion; for if no aſſiſtance came we muſt be ruin'd, and ſuearing would not hinder, and onlie put ſo many unluckie people under a neceſſitie of perjureing themſelves; and that no oath could bind the common fellous. As to the gentlemen, it was hard to ſuſpect the worſt or meaneſt of them of comeing there with no worſe diſpoſition both to King and Countrie than his Lordſhip of Mar, who, by propoſeing an oath to others, preſumed, perhaps, to be exempted

himſelf, ſince fidelitie was to be ſuore to him; nor would his takeing of it be any motive to others, knowing what uſe he uſed to make of oaths; and, in a word, that if the King was with us, I did not think I'd take anie, haveing ane averſion to oaths, and they were barbarous, in my way of thinking. The gentlemen I have named fell into my ſentiments, or rather had been ſpeakeing to the ſame purpoſe before, and ſaid they'd goe ſpeak to Mar. I bid them mention me, and that I was reſolved to hinder all I could from takeing, and that he'd doe better and let it fall, without driving it farther, for it muſt certainlie breed a rupture amongſt us. They went to him, and repreſented it in their own name and mine, and ſaid his Lordſhip would find more of that opinion. His Lordſhip either pretended or was a little ſurpriſed at firſt; but, without hearing more of their reaſons, haveing recover'd himſelf, told them, He wonder'd any ſhould ſcrupule at it; that it was onlie a militarie oath, and it had been always the cuſtome; but, ſince it was not well takne he'd drop it, and there ſhould be heard no more of it. Which, when they told me, I ſaid was falſe, for I ought to know militarie oaths and the cuſtomes of ſervices ſome better then his Lordſhip, and, except in England, where the oaths officers take can't be called militarie, I never heard of oaths tender'd to any but common ſojers when recruits, and it is in few words, never to deſert their colours. Mar keept his word, believing it for his intereſt to doe ſo; and we were no further troubled with his oath. I am of opinion, thoſe who took that oath did not reallie know what they ſuore to, haveing never ſeen it, or heard it read, before it was tender'd them. As for the hindring deſertion, thoſe of the tuo Regiments deſerted amongſt the firſt.

Being baulkt of this attempt upon us, before the criſis, he had recourſe after it, to his lyes, by which we never recover'd any ſpirits, and are like certaine aliments or cordialls which phiſitiens give to ſick people; for, as theſe cordialls neither reſtore health nor vigour, and have no other effect than hinder preſent death, ſo were lyes too light to ſuffice in our wants, or eſtabliſh a ſolid happineſs, and onlie ſerved to divert people from turning their thoughts another way, and nouriſht our lazineſs, haveing had no little opium in their compoſition, which increaſed the lethargie, and hinder'd us from makeing uſe of advantages which we might laid hold

of. But ſo longe as we had the leaſt breath in us he did not think himſelf ſecure, not being able to perſuade himſelf of our inſenſibilitie in ane affair of the laſt importance.

> " Occultum quatiente animo tortore flagellum?...
> Nocte dieque suum gestare in pectore testem." Juvenal. Sat.
>
> " Perfecto demum scelere magnitudinem ejus intellexit." Tacit.

And ſeem'd to own the greatneſs of his crime by the jealouſie he had of thoſe he had cheated.

While we were languiſhing, and falling out of one fainting fit into another, he attempted giveing us the extream unction, under a charitable pretext of ſaveing our ſoules, ſince he could not our lives; for I can't tell what elſe to think of it, if it was not the deſigne of ſaveing his own. This experiment had the common effect that the throuing cold water does in faces of thoſe in our weak ſtate, and, contrarie to his intention, rouſed us a little. That day Mar deſigned to make this operation, he thought himſelf oblidged to give the ſham reaſons for it to my Lord Huntlie, which Huntley communicated to me, and told me he had ſeen the forme of ane Aſſociation that Mar deſigned to ſteale in upon us that evening, by way of ſurpriſe, and that all thoſe of any name or note amongſt us would be called for to ſigne it; and, if paſſed through them, the others needed not be preſt, but would run to put their names to it. I ſaid, For which reaſon I hop't his Lordſhip would be there to ſhew his diſſent, ſince, as he ſpoke of it, I ſaw it was a thing intirelie deſtructive. He ſaid, He neither would ſigne it, nor would he be preſent. I told him, with all freedom, That if he thought it a good thing he ought to be preſent, and give his good exemple, being the man of the whole who was of the firſt rank, and had greateſt power; and, in that caſe, he would be very angrie if anie bodie, except Mar, who he had made Generall, ſhould pretend to ſigne before him; and, by the ſame reaſon, he ought to ſhew the firſt diſlike of it, ſince he thought it a thing of bad conſequence, that, with his authoritie, he might cruſh it. God forbid that any honeſt man ſhould think they did their dutie by a criminall ſilence, and far leſs he whoſe power and rank put him above all inſult; and which

he could not imagine was given him to be a cypher, a crime which I thought was not pardonable in the leaſt Scotſman who was capable of comprehending the nature of it. I bid him reflect in whoſe hands the Countrie was in, and if he, at the meeting of Aboyn, had not given it up to Mar and his bankrupts, and whether or not he had that to anſuer for, and if it did not ſtill bring new obligations upon him, if any thing could give ſtrength to the former; for my part, I had not that great following which his Lordſhip had to ſupport me, nor that immediate call, by being of the firſt rank, to ſhew my abhorrence firſt of ſuch methods, but I flattered myſelf I had as great ane influence as moſt, which I lookt on as a truſt repoſed in me, and of a familie which neither threats nor ſufferings had ever made deviate from the ſervice of their Countrie, and no earthlie thing ſhould make me either connive or condeſcend to what I thought ſo deſtructive to it; that, if his Lordſhip thought it a dutie that could be diſpenſed with, I did not, when the leaſt wronge reſolution muſt infalliblie end in its ruine, and it ſhould never be ſaid that there were none amongſt us who durſt ſpeak truth; for happen what would, I was reſolved to doe it, and never would conceale from my countriemen what was ſo much their intereſt to know. His Lordſhip perſiſted in his opinion and would not be preſent at that meeting.

I went to inform my Lord Rollo, who was ſick in bed; and, after that, ſpoke to ſeverall others, who I thought the moſt moderate. Without any further adverticement, it was given out in orders at three of the clock, that all Lords, Commanding Officers of everie Corps, Chiefs of Clans, with one of the moſt conſiderable gentlemen of everie countie, ſhould be at Mar's quarters before five of the clock that night; which laſt was very hard to determine of, becauſe almoſt all the gentlemen were quarter'd out of the toun, and till they met, none would be readie to take that caracter upon him, or could he have a pouer requiſite to be obligatorie on the others, and impoſſible they could be got together in ſo ſhort a time; nor could they, tho' they had met, give inſtructions, for, except ſuch as had heard of it in the manner I did, [they] knew not what they were called for. But all that was done to ſurpriſe the better, and he had his ſet readie; who, if they had Mar's countenance, had no ſcruple of calling themſelves the

moſt conſiderable, in imitation of his Lords. This was the fourth time Mar had been pleaſed to call a generall meeting. The firſt was, after he had in all probabilitie loſt Mackintoſh in the citadell of Leith, by his oun willfullneſs, to read us the letters, and tell us he was loſt, as if he had wanted our advice onlie to repair what to himſelf ſeemed impoſſible: The next was, by a furpriſe of the ſame nature, to ſigne the Petition to the Regent: And the other, in the morning of the battle, when there was no great need of deliberateing, and the neceſſitie of fighting ſeemed abſolute. At this time we were brought together onlie to inſnare us further.

No ſooner we were met then Mar threw doun tuo draughts of ane Aſſociation on the table, telling us that it was thought fit, by thoſe who knew our preſent circumſtances, that we ſhould enter into new tyes and bonds, oblidgeing us never to deſert one another, and that the verie ſhew and appearance of unanimitie and firmitie, as things ſtood, would be of no ſmall conſequence to us; and, for that reaſon, had called us to ſigne either of theſe tuo draughts of ane Aſſociation, which he order'd to be read, and begged of them not to ſhew the leaſt mark of diſunion, ſince the ennemie muſt certainlie know all that paſſed there.

My Lord Huntlie, who had ſeen theſe draughts that morning, finding them very inveigleing, ſent, by a gentleman, a draught of his makeing, which was both ſhorter and plainer. Mar took this draught out of Tanachie's hand, and, reading it with ane air of diſdain, ſaid, It was a very prittie draught, and did not doubt but the meaning was good, but that it was neither Engliſh nor grammar; which paſt eaſilie in a pact meeting, but moſt impudent in his Lordſhip, who, of all men, knous the leaſt of either. My Lord Mar's tuo being conceaved in very dubious terms, he hoped, if he threu out Huntley's, we'd fall in to one of the tuo traps he had laid for us, tho' equallie dangerous; yet we could not evite both, and put it on the foot of a choice. I ſpoke firſt, and took exception at that clauſe of both where we were bound, on honour and conſcience, never to accept or ſue for terms without the conſent of the majoritie; and deſired to have it explained what was meant by the majoritie, whither it was the majoritie of the ſigners, or the majoritie of the whole gentlemen at Pearth, or onlie the majoritie of ſuch as my Lord Mar pleaſed to call. Sir John MacClean was

not longe of takeing of[f] the maſk, and, very haughtilie, ſaid, That if it was not left to the majoritie of thoſe my Lord Mar pleaſed to call; his Clan were all gentlemen, and they had as good a title to judge of things as others. It being not at all ſafe, and of no manner of good to contradict a point of that kind, it was dropt, ſince it reached the whole common Highlandmen at Pearth, Sir John haveing explained it very clearlie; onlie ſome took the libertie of thinking it very hard that a Clan, who, amongſt them all, had not one hundred a-year, ſhould pretend to ſeven or eight hundred votes in ane affair of that conſequence, which neither related to their Chief or them; and by that means the Highlandmen, who we durſt not diſpute were gentlemen, muſt hencefurth determine us. My Lord Viſcount of Kingſton made a propoſall, Whither it were not proper to be informed of the ſtate of our affairs before we went into ane Aſſociation; and if that could ſupplie us the want of pouder, ball, men, monie, and other neceſſaries of war? In that caſe he thought ane Aſſociation would be of the laſt conſequence, but, otherwiſe, he could not ſee the uſe of it. It was anſuered, by my Lord Mar, That it was true that the King's affairs were not in ſo good a ſtate as he himſelf could wiſh, but that they were not ſo deſperate as ſome might imagine; nor was it proper that every bodie ſhould know the ſtate of them; which was a plain contradiction; for, if they were not ſo bad as people might imagine, there was nothing ſo eaſie, yea requiſite, as ſolveing doubts by a diſcoverie; and if things had not been deſperate for want of all, what was the need of keeping the ſecret, at leaſt from us, who could reſolve nothing without knouing all?

I objected, that there was another want, which perhaps his Lordſhip did not reflect on, and that was, that the gentlemen's pockets were now drained, or very near draining, even thoſe of the beſt eſtates, who, comeing out on ſuch a ſurpriſe, had not time to make ſufficient proviſions, and had all of them, more or leſs, ſervants and horſes on their hands. My Lord Kilſeyth anſuer'd, That nobodie had ever aſked and was refuſed; which, as to his Lordſhip's particular, was true enough, ſince he had lived all the time on the publick, without, for what I know, bringing out tuo horſemen, or haveing the leaſt appearance of intereſt with any gentleman

there; but at ſame time very well known, that when Huntlie aſked monie for ſome of his poor gentlemen, it was with great difficultie agreed to give him a groat a day, and that not well payed when he conſented to their receaveing it: So that I anſuer'd Kilſeyth, That it would be very pleaſant to ſee a gentleman who wanted monie receave a groat, and give his ſervants tuo, even tho' my Lord Mar had that to give, which was not at all proven. Then I aſked, What if we were oblidged to leave Pearth, ſince I was not ignorant of the weakneſs of the place, as well as the want of everie other thing? Would ane Aſſociation afforde us a place to make a halt in and keep firm? or, ſuppoſeing it could, Was the countrie northwards capable to ſubſiſt us? To that it was anſuer'd, We could ſubſiſt every where, and make head at Aberdeen. But Glengarie ſaid, In the worſt events, we could keep firm at Inverneſs, where we had Murray to ſubſiſt us, the plentiefulleſt corn countrie in all Scotland. Sir Robert Gordon anſuer'd, That he knew Murray very well, ſince he had his fortune there, and aſſured us that it was ſo ſmall a ſtryp of a countrie, that, tho' a good ſoile, it could afford us but a very few days' maintainance. So I ſaid, It was ane eaſie matter to caſt our horoſcope; for, in a little time, we muſt certainlie be drove to the hills, and aſkt Glengarie, If we could find maintainance there at that ſeaſon of the year, or at any other? He anſuered, after his way, That it was to be got at all ſeaſons, provided we found out the contrivance of carrieing it alonge with us; and this, tho' told in a way of banter, [was] the onlie ingenious thing ſaid on that occaſion by any of Mar's partie.

After this, Major Balfour, who was the gentleman there who came in name of thoſe of the Fife countie, ſaid, He had onlie ſpoke with a few of thoſe of his countie, ſince their quarter was out of toun, and that he did not think it fit for him to ſigne till they were informed, becauſe this ſeemed to bind all. On which Mr Hary Maule, brother to my Lord Panmure, and uncle to Mar, ſaid, He was ſurpriſed Major Balfour ſhould take ſuch a commiſſion, and wonder'd any man ſhould come there with it. Upon which the Major begged pardon, and offer'd to retire, being a very modeſt man, and, tho' one of the firſt of that countie, had takne it upon him on my perſuaſion; but Mar called him back, with a laugh, ſaying, Stay

Hary Balfour. It's obſerveable that Mr Hary Maule himſelf had takne his commiſſion from tuo, theſe being all the Angus men preſent in toun, their quarters being at a diſtance, and that thoſe tuo had limited him not to ſigne till they were informed of the nature of the thing; which Sir James Kinloch, and Ratre[y] of Craig-Hall, told me that night, and I think I can be poſitive the laſt was one of thoſe tuo conſtituents, if both were not; and further added, That Mr Hary Maule had promiſed to doe nothing without adviſeing with them. This was aſtoniſhing to me, from a man of that caracter.

In the beginning of theſe popular maladys, the ſound are to be diſtinguiſht from the ſick; but when they continue, as ours did, the whole maſs of the blood is tainted, neither head nor foot, or any member is free from corruption, for ther's no air that's ſuallow'd doun ſo greedilie, and ſpreads and penetrates like licentiouſneſs. I laugh at the villanie and meanneſs of ambition, and to ſee by what abject methods thoſe muſt gain their aimes, but nothing ſo moveing as to ſee thoſe who had all alonge ſupported ane honourable caracter, corrupting every day, either out of fear, or to get the management or the command in that confuſion. Longe ſufferance breeds cuſtome, and cuſtome conſent and imitation. We had good-for-nothing people enough amongſt us without perverting the men of honour. Had we ſucceeded it would [have] been a very difficult matter to found out in whoſe hands to [have] entruſted the State. My Lord Kilſeyth aſked, What the Duke of Argyle would ſay if any number of the officers under his command took that freedom of raiſoning with him? To that I anſuer'd, That if he ſent for them to deliberate or conſult with them, it was a Councill of War, and then the whole ſtate of the affair would be laid before them, without diſguiſe, and they at full libertie to tell their ſentiements, and raiſon with the Duke of Argyle, or any Generall; and it was of a very different nature from a command, for it's to no purpoſe to come to a meeting if all that is to be done is onlie to obey the inclinations of anie one man; and all that's to be ſaid is, To aſk his pleaſure; nor did their caſe and ours, for many reaſons, admit of any compariſon. Sir James Kinloch, who all his life had been a great aſſerter of the rights and pouer of Kings, ſaid, He did not like the Aſſociation, ſince it put him in mind of the

Solemn League and Covenant, by not takeing the leaſt notice of the King. Mar laid hold of that greedyly, and ſaid he'd ſoon help it. And after he, and the judicious Drummond, who pleaſed himſelf with thinking that ane advantage was got by inſerting Sir James Kinloch's clauſe, for no other reaſon but that he ſau Mar laugh, and appear fond of it, had whiſper'd to one another. Mar owned his neglect, and ſaid it was very juſt the conſent of the royall authoritie ſhould be added, ſo the Aſſociation was wrote over again, and that clauſe inſerted, "Never to aſk terms without the conſent of the royall authoritie." All this while my Lord Mar ſeem'd very uneaſie, ſometimes very haughtie, and at other times very ſubmiſs, ſtill recommending unitie, and telling the danger of the ennemie's knowing our diſagreement, and wiſhing to God that it had never been ſtarted. I did not doubt but a great dale of what he ſaid on that head was true, and it raiſed ane emotion in me; and I believe few men who mean well are ſtronge enough to reſiſt the thoughts of a diſmall diviſion in a juncture like that, even tho' no anſuer had been given to any of our objections; and I went aſide with Mr Ogilvie, brother to Boyn, who undertook to goe to Mar from me and himſelf, to tell him, in his ear, that if he would leave out the conſent of the royall authoritie, which, we thought, gave his Lordſhip too much pouer, ſince it was lodgeing it intirelie in him, for we did not expect the King would come, in that caſe, rather then our differences or diviſions ſhould be knoun, which was the beſt argument for ſigneing it, now that he had propoſed it, but no reaſon for his haveing propoſed it, or keeping up to everie clauſe of it, both he and I would ſigne it. My Lord Mar did not vouchſafe him the leaſt anſuer, and begun the ſigneing himſelf in great heat and furie, which indeed fortiefied me ſufficientlie, and I went out, as did Sir James Kinloch, who, tho' he had got his clauſe inſerted, did not like the thing in the main, and likewiſe Mr Ogilvie, by much one of the beſt men there; and the others, who were againſt the Aſſociation, and aware of it, folloued our exemple. But, before I went out, Mariſhall, after his little truckling manner, took me aſide, and pretended to give me the ſecret reaſon, and that was, as he ſaid, to hinder Huntley's makeing a ſeparate peace, which he knew he was of doeing. I begg'd pardon to differ from him, ſince I

knew Huntlie too well to believe any ſuch thing of him; but that I could tell his Lordſhip the ſecret ſpringe was to diveſt ourſelves of a pouer we naturallie had, and deliver ourſelves up to the majoritie of bankrupts, Lords, and others, who Mar thought convenient to call, or ſacrifice us all for Mar's own peace, ſince all would be done without our knouledge, with more reaſon then hitherto. I ſaid, I thought at ſame time he'd be a villain, and the worſt of men, who could entertaine a thought of a ſeparat peace. More was ſaid too and fro in argueing, but I dare ſay I have omitted nothing materiell, except ſome learned ſpeeches made by Drummond, which pointed at nothing, and ſo frothie that there was no laying hold of them. Thoſe who went out appointed to meet ane hour after at my quarters, and ſeparated to inform their friends in toun of what had paſſed.

I went to my Lord Rollow, who lay in bed, where I was folloued by Drummond's ſecretarie and valet-de-chamber, one of our greateſt ſtatſmen, and ſoon after by Drummond and the Aſſociation. He ſoon found it to no purpoſe to offer it to Rollow. In the mean time, Sir James Kinloch, Sir Robert Gordon, Major Balfour, Mr Archibald Ogilvie, Smith of Methvine, and a good many of the Fife gentrie, and others, met at my quarters,[1] and were unanimouſlie of the opinion that a capitulation was more ſuitable to our circumſtances than ane Aſſociation, which they could not find one ſhadow of reaſon for, ſince there was no other mean to ſave us; for not one word being keept to us that was promiſed, it was very naturall, being in want of everie thing, and no poſſibilitie or view of any aide or ſupport, to look to ourſelves; nor could it enter in any man's head that the King would ever come, ſince he did not come four months before, as was promiſed, or in all that time when his affairs were on a better footing. And was it not ſtrange, that in all that time we ſtill knew nothing of him, except by forged letters, pretended onlie to have come from a third

[1] The Master of Sinclair was accused of being President of the Grumbling Club, as they were called. But, surely, notwithstanding the spleen which he manifests, it is impossible to deny the reasons on which he seems here to have acted. To the eye of common sense the game of the Insurgents was up so soon as they had failed, first in exciting a general rising, and then in obtaining a decisive victory.

or fourth hand, which Mar had read to ſome, after writeing them himſelf at Pearth? and after feeding us with ane infinitie of lyes, which we now ſaw he never had the leaſt ground for, he could challenge no belief from us; and we could not doubt that Coll. Hay, Sir John Areſkine, and that little fellow Forbes, who were ſent to France, were all priſonners; which we believed was the King's caſe. For how was it poſſible to imagine that had he beên at his freedom he ſhould not been with us? and that, if he even deſigned now to come, it was certain he'd ſent ſome bodie before him with arms and ammunition; for it was impoſſible for him not to know we wanted, ſuppoſeing our meſſengers to him had told him nothing of it; and it would not be ſafe for him to come till that was in the countrie, as well as other ſupplies of all kinds: And, in the mean time, before that happned, or if it could at all happen, our ruine was inevitable, haveing ſeen clearlie, ſome days before, on an alarme of the Duke of Argyle's comeing, Mar, and all thoſe truſted about him, bore the omen of our miſfortune in their countenances, and had order'd the little monie we had to be put up in chiſts, and horſes to be readie to carrie it, on a minute's warning; which order James Freebarn, Mar's treaſurer-depute, and the man to whom he confided it, told me ſoon after receaving it, before Doctor [1], who had been gouvernour to Methvin; and this in Hardie's the vintner, over a bottle. And if this was our ſtate before the Dutch troopes joyned, what muſt our condition be if joyned, which was to happen in a week, for we knew of their marche from their firſt ſetting out. Beſides, I told them I had gone in that morning of the alarme to ſee my Lord Panmure, who had got the hint from Mar, and had his chaiſe readie before the door, to goe away, being very ill of his wounds in his head, and incapable to ſerve; and found my Ladie Panmure, a woman of ſpirit and good ſenſe, in tears, regrateing her lord's being oblidged to travell in that condition, in ſuch froſtie weather, without knouing where to goe till he ſhould be cured. While his Lordſhip ſaid, with a very contented air, It would be all nothing, provided he could follow the others to the hills. My Ladie ſaid, She wiſht it were ſo; but, in the ſtate he was in, he neither could marche with the others or hide. I told them, I believed a ſhip was the beſt expedient;

[1] Sic in MS.

but it was anſuer'd, He could not bear it; and, ſays ſhe, Give up, he'll be hanged.

Mr Hary Maule, his brother, came in, and ſeverall reflections paſt on Mar's probitie, and his way of tricking of us. It being impoſſible that this, and a great many other things, ſhould not take vent, and confirm thoſe who could judge, as well as Mar, that no place is tenible without men, pouder, and armes, far leſs ane open village; and ſuppoſe the beſt that Mar depended on, tho' his Majeſtie ſhould come, now ſince England had not keept touches, and our people ruin'd there, the Gouvernment had thirtie-four or thirtie-ſix thouſand regular troopes in Brittain to fall upon us: And what force had we to oppoſe only to the Duke of Argyle, when joyned by the Dutch, who muſt be at leaſt ten thouſand? Onlie a thouſand foot, without armes, and about four hundred horſe, without carabines; and, I may ſay, both foot and horſe without every thing; for all had gone home and deſerted us except that ſmall number. On the other hand, we had not to expect that great mob would return to us, ſince the ſame reaſon that carried them home would keep them there; which is a Highland inſtinct, that always produced the ſame effect; or, if it was poſſible they could change their nature ſo much as to be willing to return to us, the Duke of Argyle could attack us, being onlie tuo days' marche from us, before it was poſſible for them to joyn us from ſuch great diſtances, and over ſuch impracticable mountains; or could we maintain them tuo days if joyned, for want of monie, and meall to ſubſiſt on ten days if we had monie, the countrie being intirelie exhauſted? and that it was hard to ſay what we wanted moſt, that the queſtion was, what had we? not, what wanted we? We had indeed numbers of Generalls who were not capable to know the dutie of common ſentinells, and not willing to learn, and capable of nothing but lying and miſleading their countriemen in action and every where elſe: Except Generall Hamilton, who they had takne care to brand, ſo that nobodie was to have more regard to him; and if our armie was in three times better condition than ever it had been, they muſt unavoidablie ruine us. Better to us to have had Generalls of ſtraw, as bankrupt machines called Lords, and others who were ſtuffed with nothing but pride, emptieneſs, and ignorance, even tho' it had coſt us the expence of maintaining

them at home, as we did with us; for their gratitude, when preſent, tended to nothing but our utter ruine.

So, in the certain view of certain ruine, and no view of hopes from any hand, it was determined, if poſſible, the Countrie was to be ſaved; and we agreed, with one voice, that there was no way of doeing it but by ſueing for terms from the Gouvernment; for if, in philoſophie, that maxime be true, "Ex nihilo nihil fit," that nothing is made out of nothing, ſo it muſt be in war, and in every other thing. We knew Southerland had got ane armie together double our number, and had no ground to doubt he'd ſoon be in our rear; and before that his number muſt increaſs in his marche; that the Duke of Argyle could bring alonge with him as many Highlandmen as we had with us, and were now actuallie in armes, and great numbers of other militia, if he needed them; ſo that we could not conceave any reaſon for falling in to that wild enthuſiaſtick errour of imagineing ourſelves able to reſiſt not onlie all Brittain, but to conquer, or caſt the ballance of Europe; when thoſe who we expected to be our friends had not connived at our getting one pound of pouder; when they and all the others were readie and willing to aſſiſt our ennemies, that if there was not that madneſs in it, there was ſomething worſe, a dounright treacherie and perfidie; the betraying their Countrie under truſt; a crime that no name can be found black enough to brand thoſe wretches with who were capable to entertain a thought of it, but the perſiſting in it was ſo horrid, execrable, and henious a ſin, that no man could think himſelf worthie to live to form an idea of it, except on ſo clear demonſtration as theſe fine gentlemen had given us of their deſſigne; and to add to their crime, if they had not had the ſame thoughts of it as we had, they durſt not adventured to impoſe ſo very far upon us, houever ſtupid they had found us; but the impoſſibilitie of ſuſpecting them of that crime was what they intirelie truſted to. We concluded, whither villanie or follie, the effects of either were equallie deſtructive, and the ſame to us as if they were both fools and knaves, and that it was abſolutelie neceſſarie to ſet a treatie on foot, but were reſolved to doe it in the diſcreeteſt way we could think of; ſo it was propoſed, and agreed to, to ſend for Mr Hary Maule, Mar's uncle, and Carnagie of Boyſeck, tuo of his polliticien friends, and

conſult with them what method they thought moſt reſpectfull to let his Lordſhip of Mar know our inclinations. Mr Ogilvie was ſent to deſire them to ſpeak to us, and gave them a hint of our deſſigne, and I took it upon me to goe and inform Huntlie of what had paſſed both at Mar's Aſſociation and ſince.

Mr Maule and Boyſeck came to the meeting before Ogilvie returned, and finding him abſent, the moment they enter'd, ſaid, What, gentlemen, we hear you'r to ſend a trumpet to-morrow to the Duke of Argyle without conſulting my Lord Mar. Thoſe preſent were not a little ſtunned at that way of ſpeaking, and aſkt, Who ſaid ſo? They ſaid, Mr Ogilvie, believing he was not to return, thinking to pump ſome mightie ſecret out of thoſe that were met, who told them, Mr Ogilvie ſurpriſed them, ſince they could all ſuear they had not dreamed of it as yet. In the mean time Ogilvie came in. They aſkt, How Mr Ogilvie could ſay they were deſigned to ſend a trumpet to-morrow to the Duke of Argyle? He anſuer'd, Whoever ſaid ſo were damned lyers. On which they oun'd their miſtake. They were told, That they were ſo far from takeing that method that they were ſent for to make them privie to their whole deſſigne, and to inform them of what had paſſed, and take their advice, which would be the agreableſt way of letting Mar know their ſentiments? After being informed of the ſubſtance of what had paſſed, they would not adviſe them, and went away, nobodie doubting they would tell Mar all, haveing informed themſelves, before they went out, what had become of Mr Sinclair. It was anſuer'd, He was gone to Scone to ſpeak with the Marquiſe of Huntlie.

I returned ſoon, and we agreed that nixt day Major Balfour, Sir James Kinloch, and Mr Ogilvie, ſhould aſke leave to ſpeak to Mar in the name of a great many gentlemen of diſtinction; which Mar granted. To be ſhort, they told him all our arguments againſt his Aſſociation, and, amongſt others, That they did not believe any man could be bound by honour and conſciens, who had neither; and to thoſe who had both, it was no further obligation on them, and could, in our circumſtances, be onlie uſefull to rogues to lull honeſt men aſleep while they were to doe their own work. That ane Aſſociation in itſelf was nothing, without the means to ſupport

it; it was a difficult matter to tell what want muſt firſt occaſion our ſeparation, tho' the ennemie did not preſs us; and if they did, we'd be all drove to the Highlands, where ten men could not keep together for want of bread; and to what end if they could? that was not ſufficient to make head againſt the ennemie. Had they takne fiftie Aſſociations theſe could not ſupplie the leaſt of their neceſſities; it would neither make a bed of ſnow, nor a dinner of the rootts of heath ſupport nature to thoſe of the ſtrongeſt conſtitution; that neceſſitie had no law; nor could ane Aſſociation work impoſſibilities; that there were ſo many inveigleing and ambiguous clauſes in his Aſſociation, they neither could ſigne it, nor did conceave the deſigne of it; and haveing proved to his Lordſhip, by a multitude of reaſons, that he had not the leaſt ſhaddow of reaſon to defend it, they propoſed a capitulation in the name of the whole: And his Lordſhip anſuering, You can't get it; it was ſaid, It will be no ſmall ſatiffaction to be ſure of that, and then we'll know what to expect; and nothing can ſement us ſo ſtronglie as a refuſall of that kind. Then his Lordſhip demanded, What ſecuritie we could give him, that in caſe diſhonourable terms were offered us we ſhould not accept of them? The gentlemen anſuer'd, That they wonder'd his Lordſhip could ſuſpect them of anything diſhonourable; and that their honour and common intereſt was ſecuritie enough; which Ogilvie expreſt in better terms than I can, and ſaid, to ſhew him their honour was all the ſecuritie, If it was not for their honour, there was nothing to hinder any man who pleaſed to make terms underhand for himſelf, even tho' he had ſigned his Lordſhip's Aſſociation. Mar aſkt, What ſhould become of the King? They anſuer'd, His Lordſhip could ſolve that queſtion better than they, for they knew nothing about him, nor what had or what would become of him; they hoped he was well, and would continue ſo, but that neither they nor his Lordſhip, they believed, expected him; or if he deſigned comeing, or his Lordſhip in the leaſt ſuſpected it, they thought his Lordſhip, by what they had told him of our preſent circumſtances, muſt be ſufficientlie convinced that his comeing muſt onlie endanger himſelf, without being of uſe to us, and required of him to put a ſtop to it. And Mar, being hard preſſed by them, and heated, and in confuſion, own'd to them he

wiſht the King would not come, and that he had ſent to ſtop him.[1] But ſo ſoon as he dropt, that expreſſion was checkt, and deſired them not to ſpeak of it again, which they did not think convenient to obey his Lordſhip in, and told it afterwards to our whole meeting, with all its circumſtances, Sir James Kinloch ſaying, Since he had not promiſed, he was not oblidged to conceale it, nor did he think it would be acting fairlie with thoſe who ſent him: That, meeting Mar the ſame day, in another way of reaſoning, he called theſe gentlemen and order'd them to contradict themſelves; which they laught at, and told us of it. When Mar recover'd himſelf he fell into a cant,[2] his arguments being too weak; and, as if he had been ſuperiour to them all, without regarding what had been alreadie ſaid, he upbraided them, and aſkt, What men theſe muſt be who could deſert their King and Countrie in ſuch a manner? They told him, They thought they had demonſtrated that there was no other way of ſaveing their Countrie, and they did not believe it was deſerting their King, haveing no reaſon to believe he'd come; and, if he did, they thought both his Lordſhip and they had explained themſelves ſufficientlie about it; and it was unanſuerable, that if he did, it would be to no purpoſe, but endanger himſelf; and that he could not have the leaſt grounds of blameing them for not willfullie ruineing their Countrie, themſelves, and families, without doeing him the leaſt ſervice; that, on the contrarie, it was doeing the King the greateſt ſervice they were capable of to ſave the Countrie, their families, and themſelves, if poſſible; and that his Lordſhip gave them a worſe idea of the King than they could imagine, that nothing could ſatiffie his Majeſtie but our fruitleſs deſtruction, after doeing all that was in our pouer; and ſaid, God forbid any bodie ſhould think ſo of the King. By that, and other things his Lordſhip had advanced, they believed he might have other views which they did not underſtand, but till his Lordſhip could convince

[1] This was probably true; for, though Mar may, in his first sanguine hopes, have desired the presence of the Chevalier St George, it is plain that by this time he must have seen that no degree of animation which his arrival (without men, money, and ammunition) could give to the cause, could promote any favourable issue of the adventure.

[2] Meaning a rhetorical and enthusiastical tone of speaking.

them by reaſon, their own reaſon was to be their rule. By this time Mar's reaſon being intirelie loſt, he had nothing to ſay to Sir James Kinloch but, That he uſed not to be ſo talkt to; and to Ogilvie he ſaid, He argued very dogmaticallie. Which tuo fine ſayings were mightilie applauded by Sir Heugh Paterſone, Mar's brother-in-law, and, to his great honour, often repeated in the antechamber. Sir Heugh's buſineſs lying moſtlie that way, he was always about Mar's door gapeing to pick up extraordinarie things that ſtruck his fancie moſt, and ſeldom or ever admitted further. Thoſe of our deputation aſkt, What anſuer they ſhould give to their friends who ſent them? Being wearied of them, and above all ſeeking to gain time, he deſired them to come back next day at ſix in the afternoon. Haveing heard of Sir James Kinloch's freedom of telling what his Lordſhip had ſaid, he ſent to let us know he'd not admitt him any more. In the meantime he uſed his outmoſt endeavours to break us, by ſending for moſt, one by one, flattering and coxing, and plying them hard by his partizans, who were now more eager then ever; but in vain, for I never heard that above four of the Fife gentlemen ſigned his Aſſociation, and feu or none of Huntley's; moſt of the Pearthſhire refuſed, and a good many of Mariſhall's; ſo that very day they had recourſe to threats, and moſt who did ſigne were the eaſie, good-natured people, who durſt not ſtand the torrent; or ſuch as had nothing to looſe, and were intirlie abandon'd. The others were honour'd with the name of mutineers, and I diſtinguiſht as the chief of them, for it was ſaid I had carried off[f] Huntlie, and was the main inſtrument that poyſon'd all the others: Tho' I can't but thank them for the good opinion they had of my adreſs, yet I can't pretend to ſay my talent lyes much in intriguing, but rather in ſpeaking out bold truths, which lays a man more often open to his ennemies then it gains converts. The difficultie was not great to give the whole the beſt advice, but to have got the ſecret to make it take, and to determine them to follow it. Perhaps thoſe gentlemen who were againſt following that good advice, according to their views were in the right, but I ſhould [have] been in the wronge not to know that with them it's more dangerous to undertake to redreſs faults than to have been the occaſion of them. I had been taught, in the whole courſe of the affair, to expect that the leaſt check which diſturbed

them, the great part would not be at pains to look back to the firſt cauſe; and far from entring into a juſt reſentment againſt thoſe who laid the foundation of their miſfortune, they'd turn all the bent of their paſſion againſt thoſe adviſers who could not divert it; ſo much were their heads turned with lyes. My age and temper put me in the moſt dangerous rank, thinking myſelf oblidged at leaſt to anſuer everie bodie in their own way; and, on theſe occaſions, ſuch as I ſuffer all the wrath, and bears all the iniquitie of the events. Houever, I would not betray my ſentiements, and, whatever might have happned, was reſolved my private ſafetie ſhould not be put in the ballance by me with the public good.

That morning I went to Court, and fell in amongſt a croud of Mar's aide-de-camps, and other favourites; they buſſied themſelves to point ſome lyes at me, as if I had been to be bam'd, and mixt them with little reflections againſt unbeleavers. I bid them ſpare themſelves the trouble of telling their great hopes to me; that I had all alonge obſerved the Scots proverb, which ſaid, That if a man cheats me once, it's his fault; but if he cheats me tuice, it's my fault. But what men muſt thoſe be who have done nothing but cheat every minute of the day, for four months together? and what men, who are ſatiffied to be cheated till their necks are brock, which I believed very nigh? They ſaid, They did not underſtand me; and aſkt, Who I mean'd by thoſe that cheated? I ſaid, Their Generall. Neither they nor Mariſhall, who was one of the nixt to me, anſuer'd one word. Lord George Murray, ſome minutes after, thought fit to attack me, and ſaid flatlie, That I was doeing things that if his oun brother did ſo, he'd call him a traytor. I anſuer'd him, He advanced too much on ſo ſmall grounds; but, were I his brother, I'd take him and laſh him; and told him, It was leſs his buſſieneſs than anie bodies to ſpeak ſo, for it would be hard if a luſtie younge fellow like him could not find ane enſigne's commiſſion ſomewhere, for that was all that in realitie he riſqued; and bid him beware of that way of talking to me, for he'd gain little at my hand. Lord George was contented, and ſo was I, being as unwilling to have to doe with anie of a familie I reſpected ſo much, as I ſhould been glade to have had the half of that occaſion with ſome others. This was the greateſt libertie that anie

took with me at Pearth; I mean to my face. This was he who, being ſent to raiſe the ceſs of Dumfermling, keept five hundred pound of it, which, I believe, was by much the greateſt part of it, if not all. Theſe were the great friends to King and Countrie, who were robbing it when at its loweſt ebb.

The mutineers, as they called them, met again at my quarters, to conſider of Mar's anſuer. His ſaying to our deputees, when forced to own what they brought ſo cloſe home to him, That we could get no terms, was very different from what he was giveing out to the others, That we were ſtill ſuperiour, and had nothing to fear. The fallacie of the laſt we knew as well as he; but could not find out his raiſon for being ſo poſitive that terms would be refuſed us; it appear'd to us his ground for it was the facilitie the ennemie had to reduce us, which we ourſelves were afraid of, but ſtill a bad argument for our not aſking terms when brought to that paſs that either we muſt die of hunger in the hills, or goe and embrace the kinder halter; and in both we ſaw our Countrie's ruine, our oun extirpation, and that of our families: We thought, that ſaying of his implyed our being too longe of aſking terms, and was a ſufficient excuſe for our loyaltie, but none at all for our follie of being ſo longe miſled by him; and we were not to expect that he, who had by his lyes lulled us into all ſecuritie, untill he himſelf ſeem'd to acknouledge that we had ſlipt our tide when we had confided ourſelves to him, and had in it committed the greateſt breache of truſt; and knowing the man, and everie action of his life, and his preſent prevarications, which now appear'd in the ſtrongeſt colours before us, we could not think that if we had not looſed our time he'd ever allow us to think it was time, when the onlie reward he could propoſe to us for followiug his advice was utter ruine. That thoſe who had Countrie, families, or conſciences, could not ſatiſfie themſelves in ſuch a caſe, with a poſitive ſaying of ſuch a man as his Lordſhip, and could not be anſuerable to either of theſe not to try all lawfull expedients; and that it needed not be binding on thoſe who neither had Countrie, families, or conſciences; they might doe, as they ever did, and ever will doe, which is, as they thought fit: if they pleaſed they might ſigne Aſſociations and break them next minute, or treat and break it, or doe neither, according to their

oun will, provided they'd allow us to acquit ourſelves of the dutie in nature the moſt indiſpenſable, ſo longe as we had a countenance which gave us a pretence to aſk terms; and the onlie remedie we could ſee to repair our delaying it too longe was to doe it ſoon: if refuſed, we knew our fate, and hoped God would give us the grace to ſtand it with firmitie, and like Scotſmen, and not ſullie the honour of our anceſtours; and then, if Mar pleaſed, we'd ſigne ane Aſſociation conceaved in other terms then that of his Lordſhip, and binding ourſelves, by the moſt ſolemn and ſtrongeſt oaths and tyes, yea, takeing the Sacrament on it, that no man ſhould give or take quarters, or give himſelf up, or deſert the Countrie by leaveing it; and none of thoſe, on any pretext or reaſon whatſoever, ſuppoſe want of bread, pouder, armes, and all the neceſſaries of life; and when we could not have it in our pouer to throw ourſelves away in revengeing the intended injurie of oppreſſing and diſhonoureing us, dye gnawing the ground, that tho' we raiſe like fools, poſteritie might ſay of us, We waſht it off by dyeing like brave men, and that, while we lived, none durſt either inſult us or our Countrie.

As to his demand, What ſecuritie we could give him in caſe diſhonourable terms were offer'd us we ſhould not accept of them? We thought that of all humane race his Lordſhip of Mar was the laſt who ought to poſe anie bodie on their honour who never had one grain of honour in his life, and had ſo often changed faces when we had always keept the ſame, and all alonge ſuffer'd for it, when he profited by all thoſe changes, and ſelling us; and did he now pretend to queſtion us, or to teach us principles of dutie to our Countrie or ourſelves? we took that to be the hight of impudence from a man ſo well known to us as he, and of whoſe honour we had a million of times more reaſon to doubt than he had to doubt of ours. We knew very well the terms we had to aſk, which were our lives and fortunes, and be reinſtalled on the ſame footing we were on before. We could not comprehend that Mar needed ſuſpect us of betraying our oun lives; as to our eſtates it was not of him we'd learn to take care of them; haveing, generallie ſpeaking, no worſe eſtates or expectations, but rather better, than moſt of thoſe about his Lordſhip, we had no notion what he'd have us expect more in our circumſtances, for we could at any time give ourſelves

up. But this ſecuritie muſt have ſome other meaning, as if he fear'd our getting terms, and implyed a contradiction of what he had ſaid firſt, That we could get no terms. By his Aſſociation, and his being ſo refractorie to allow us to ſue for terms, and the noiſe his partizans and agents made in clamouring againſt us, we verylie believed he was afraid, and the more he fear'd, in that caſe the leſs reaſon we thought we had to fear, and the greater reaſon we had to hope and ſet a Treatie on foot. His queſtion about the King was very extraordinarie to people who he'd never allow to know anything of him; by giveing us the ſatiſfaction of ſending one of our oun choiſeing, who'd been back ere now, and then both we and he had known what had become of him. He might be dead for us, tho' we hoped it was not ſo, yet there was too much reaſon to fear it; ſince he did not come ſooner if alive, we thought there was no reaſon for expecting him; and if Mar did not think that the ſame reaſons would keep him at this time which had keept him all the while, Mar, who had taken all upon him, ought to ſend ane expreſs to him, to inform him that his comeing could doe no more but endanger himſelf, and doe us harm, by extinguiſhing our hopes; which was all we could ſay to the King, when we did not know what would become of ourſelves. His opbraideing us for deſerting the King and Countrie, after owning he had ſent to ſtop the King, was admireable, and nothing more wonderfull than that new light of his, which had made him ſo determined a hero, ſo good a countrieman, and ſo loyall a ſubject, all at once.

It happens often enough that conjunctures and events don't anſuer our wiſhes, therefor we were not to think of makeing our neceſſities yeeld to our caprices, but we ourſelves were to yeeld to our neceſſities; that was what we were to believe in our ſituation. As to his ſaucie, impertinent anſuers, the one was the onlie truth he ſpoke, and nothing more true then "That he was not uſed to be ſo talkt to;" for he never had given us, nor any others, ane opportunitie of talking to him, except ſome bankrupts, who he maintain'd at our expence, who were to know no more of the matter than he thought fit they ſhould; whoſe dependence was ſo great upon him they dar'd not argue with him if they could, and much leſs enquire into any thing, and whoſe whole merite conſiſted in their ſubmiſſion. That we

regrated our haveing given him that pouer too longe, of acting, and ſpeakeing, and thinking, all himſelf; but that we had not made ſuch a ſurrender of ourſelves as not to reaſſume the libertie to ſpeak our mind to him, and much better men than he, when the publick good required; we reſolved to bear that tyrannie no longer; and ſorrie to ſay that there were too preſſing reaſons for it, and we'd for the future take his word for no more then what we ſaw; it was now time to be plain.

All preſent told that they had been attackt different ways by Mar's truſtees or himſelf, and that they were flatter'd by ſome, and threatned by others, to make them deſert that wicked band, as they were pleaſed to call it; and fear'd ſome unluckie thing might happen from the Highlandmen, who were ignorant and ſavage enough to doe what Mar might prompt them to, and the danger the greater, that if any man ſhould have to doe with one Highlandman, the whole Clan would fall upon him at one time, yea, the whole Highlandmen, for all their Chiefs were engaged in that quarrell, and that all their rage would be turned againſt us. We ſaw very well that the Highland Chiefs imagined themſelves ſecure, nor did they care one ſixpence if they were drove out of Pearth next day; they had laid their account with that, and never deſigned ſtanding it in Pearth, and truſted onlie to their hills, where cannon, which is their great terrour, could not harm them, and to fatigueing the troopes in thoſe inacceſſible mountains, more then fighting them; ſo that the true cauſe of their courage may be properlie ſaid to have lyen in their heels at that time; and haveing it in their head that they never could be conquer'd, becauſe till then nobodie had thought it worth the pains of doeing it, and never doubted they had their terms in their own pouer in the mean time, were pleaſed with Mar's high pay, and cared not what became of us of the Low Countries, who, if forced to run after them, they'd not given to any of us a night's quarters, of which too many inſtances can be given in the like caſes.

After a good dale of raiſoning to this purpoſe, we reſolved to anſuer Mar's poſitive demand in theſe terms: "The gentlemen who made the propoſale that a Treatie ſhould be ſet on foot, haveing conſider'd the demand of ſecuritie from them that diſhonourable terms be not accepted

of, are of opinion, that their honours and intereſts, which they have alreadie engaged, are all the ſecuritie they can give, or ought to be required of them; and inſiſt that my Lord Mar, or others, may recede from that groundleſs demand, and that a Generall Treatie be ſtill ſet on foot without loſs of time; and as their demand is for a Generall Treatie, they can conceave no grounds for ſo idle jealouſies." This was given in writeing to thoſe who were to be ſent to Mar, and they order'd to tell him, That whatever number of Delegates he'd ſend to the Duke of Argyle to treat, we muſt, for our ſatiffaction, have the choiſeing of one. I deſired to goe with Major Balfour and Mr Ogilvie in the place of Sir James Kinloch, but the others ſaid Mar was ſo rancour'd againſt me in particular, and I ſo hot, that it would doe more harm than good, and chooſe rather to ſend Smith of Methwin. At four of the clock in the afternoon I went to walk about the ſtreets, and ſaw about five hundred Highlandmen drawn up. Knowing that we had no occaſion to ſend out a command which required ſo great a number, or, if we had, conſidering hou ſmall the whole guarniſone, it was not proper; nor was it the time of relieving the guards. I aſkt of them, What they were commanded for? Some ſaid, They could not tell; others, They were to be at Mar's quarters by ſix of the clock. I went in to my Lord Rollou's, and let ſeveralls of thoſe concerned with me know it, for they were order'd to be there at that very time our Deputees were to be admitted. I ſent for one David Sinclair, a friend of mine, who ſpoke Iriſh, and deſired him to pump ſome of the Highland Officers of his acquaintance; who regrated the Maſter of Sinclair more then anie bodie, but could get nothing of the deſſigne; onlie that they believed he and ſome others were to be takne priſonners. Theſe tuo days bygone all the bankrupt Lords, and the ſcoundrells about Mar, had been running up and down Pearth, with all the furie imaginable, and imployed by him to ſpread the villanouſeſt lyes he and they could invent againſt the Mutineers, as they called them. In a word, there was no other diſcourſe but their treacherie, to blind the unthinking part, and hinder them to give ear to the juſtneſs of what we propoſed.

Both parties took freedom enough with one another behind backs.

While Rollo, Major Balfour, Sir James Kinloch, Methvin, and Mr Ogilvie and I were together, the Marquiſe of Huntlie came in from Mar's quarters, and ſaid, He left all there rageing madd, and ſpoke to me to take care of myſelf; and ſaid, Their ſpite was chieflie levelled againſt me, and that there were men to be draun up there, and ſomething extraordinarie deſigned. I run and took my hat, and ſaid, I'd goe there, and take my hazard; but the others aſſureing me the Highlandmen would be turned looſe upon me, and what honour could I propoſe by it? Then I ſuore I'd never goe there more. They aſkt me, What I had been ſaying? I anſuered, It was not time now to be ſilent, when I ſaw ſuch methods taken; that I had ſaid everie where all that I thought, or could ſay, but I was ſure I had ſpoke truth, and would not goe back with it. Mr Ogilvie, Major Balfour, and Methvin went to Mar at the time appointed, and, after giveing him our anſuer as to the ſecuritie he required, and repeating the arguments we had made uſe of, his Lordſhip ſaid, He ſaw no reaſone for a capitulation more then in the beginning; ſeeming not to take notice of the whole former reaſoning, and all that had paſſed. Mr Ogilvie anſuered, That if he had no more reaſon for raiſeing us at the beginning than there was at preſent, he humblie preſumed his Lordſhip had done very raſhlie and unwarrantablie, and that his Lordſhip own'd by that, his haveing had no hopes of Engeland's aſſiſting us from the beginning; which, he was ſure, was now extinct, as well as the hopes of help from France, with pouder and armes, ſince we had not had the leaſt account of the King for nere four months, nor ſo much as a return from anie of thoſe who were ſent; and that we could have no other notion than of the King and their being made priſonners, if my Lord would have [it] believed, what he ſaid at firſt, that he expected him daylie; that his brother Boyn, who was the onlie [one] who had come from France, had not ſeen the King for ſix months before he came to us; and, on his comeing, people had of a longe time takne umbrage at the writeing the Petition to the Regent, as if he reallie had been priſonner; and by hearing nothing of him then, and no more ſince, they believed him priſonner. After the aſſurances his Lordſhip had given us that the Regent, to his certain knouledge, was at leaſt as willing to aſſiſt the King as we were to ſerve him, his Lordſhip's

choiſe of ſuch meſſengers as we could neither have thought of, or in the leaſt approven of, and for that reaſon ſent in ſo clandeſtine a way to France, was what riveted thoſe jealouſies. That now we had a great armie nere us, and, if it were poſſible for thoſe in their right wits to conceave a notion of makeing head to that armie in the circumſtances we were in, we could not but be ſatiffied that thrice that number would be ſent againſt us, ſince King George had nothing elſe to doe with his troops. But we needed not extend our vieus ſo far: we had found, by ſad experience, how little we could relie on Highlandmen; and, beſides their naturall bent of running home, haveing met with ſuch diſcouragements and diſapointments, neither would or could be back in time; at ſame time begged of his Lordſhip to reflect that all our other wants were endleſs, and that we were not one day ſure of thoſe thouſand or tuelve hundred Highlandmen we had; nor could he conceave the reaſon of ane Aſſociation if his Lordſhip himſelf had not found a change in our affairs. Methwin attackt him on the frivouloufneſs of an Aſſociation, whoſe arguments I have forgot, but appeared very ſtronge to me. My Lord Mar interrupting them very often, in great paſſion, his little head turning round, which it will always be found to doe when in the leaſt preſt, conſented to try for a capitulation, but aſſured them, He knew it was not to be procured; and aſkt them, What methode they'd propoſe? They ſaid, They ſaw no difficultie in that, and the moſt naturall way was to ſend a trumpet to get a ſaufe conduct for anie tuo or three, as it was thought fit; but they were order'd to tell his Lordſhip, that the gentlemen who ſent them would have the choiſeing of one Delegate for their greater ſatiffaction. This ſtun'd him more then any thing, and made him fall out into bitter but generall reflections againſt the whole for deſerting their King and Countrie; the old cant, becauſe they let him now ſee what truſt he had further to pretend to; and, in his rage, made diſcoveries, and ſaid, That for his own part he was reſolved never to be a Britiſh ſubject, for he could make his peace when he pleaſed, ſince he had a ſhip always readie, and that it was not the firſt time his familie had been ſacrieficed for the Royall Familie, and did not care tho' it went again to the divill. To this the gentlemen anſuer'd, My Lord might doe as he thought fit, but they knew their dutie to their Countrie, themſelves,

and families. Mar told them further, That his being too communicative had done harm, and he'd know to whome he'd ſhew his intelligence for the time to come; and deſired them to come back to-morrow morning; and they returned and made their report to their conſtituents, met in my quarters, who could not find out Mar's reaſon for being ſo much againſt trying for a capitulation, ſince he was ſo poſitive it would be denyed us, for ſtill he had his aime, and that refuſall would put us under a neceſſitie of ſementing more then his Aſſociations; but, on the contrarie, they imagin'd he muſt have ſome reaſon to think it would be granted us, ſince he went ſo unwillinglie into it. And they remembered, that it had been buzed about ſome time agoe, that a letter from the Lord Tounſend to the Duke of Argyle had been intercepted by Mr Forreſter, and ſent to Mar, telling my Lord Argyle that the longe lookt-for indemnitie was at laſt near expeaded, they onlie wanted the names of thoſe it would be proper to except; and we did not doubt but this letter was one of his greateſt reaſons for his Aſſociation, and being againſt the capitulation. The firſt putting us intirelie in Mar's pouer, and bound us up, without haveing the leaſt ſuch effect on him, ſince, to our ſad experience, we knew his pretenſions either to honour and conſcience were none at all. But after all that ſcene of villanies in his whole life, and the innumerable lyes and forgeries, the impudence of ſuch a wretch as we knew him, and repreſented him to ourſelves, was of all things the moſt inſupportable; nor did we know what he was not capable of, after all he had done, for the ſame impudence was a ſalve for all he could doe. We knew whence his unmannerlie reflections proceeded; it was a ſtronge ſigne the Countrie's monie laſted, and that, for that reaſon, the Highlandmen were at his command; otherwiſe, we thought we had friends enough to curb that freedom, or rather that his Lordſhip durſt not have takne it; for his accuſation was no leſs than couardice, and was no argument to us of his Lordſhip's being a hero. He is not the firſt ſcoundrell who has done ſo when he thought he had pouer. His makeing the diſcoverie that he never would be a Britiſh ſubject was no ſurpriſe upon us; we had ſeen it from the beginning, and his haveing a ſmall eſtate to looſe, in the manner he had ſettled, was no looſeing at all, when he was to goe abroad to reap the fruites of his betraying us; for, properlie

ſpeaking, looſing in that manner was to gain. As to his familie's being ſacrieficed for the Royall Familie, few of the old families in Scotland but can ſhew greater proofs of their zeale to it than his, except he valued himſelf on his Father's merite of hanging himſelf for betraying the Royall Familie; which he inſinuated, by ſaying, He did not care tho' his familie went again to the Divill. His ſhip confirmed us of what we knew very well ſome months before, and he had ſpoke greater truth had he ſaid he had three ſhips readie all the time, for the greater ſecuritie; which his oun partizans have, ſince that time, franklie own'd. But we did not think that his deſerting the Countrie was ane argument for our deſerting it; no more than his ſelling it formerlie was an argument for our ſelling it, knowing his circumſtances; nor, if we could entertain any thoughts of that kind ſo longe beforehand, we could not pretend to have the way ſo well paved for us, and the arches of that bridge he paſſed over would ſoon after be cut, and we'd leave it to him to take the ſtart, no doubt he'd chooſe his time. We could not underſtand what he meant by his being too communicative; for he had never told any of us one word of truth, and we had no reaſon to thank him for his lyes, which were onlie neceſſarie to himſelf, and told to us with no other deſſigne than that of ruineing us, and ſerveing him; ſo he muſt ſpare himſelf the trouble for the time to come, for we were to beg leave to be excuſed from believing one word he ſaid. They told us, that when he conſented to the Treatie the tears came in his eyes; that his great ſoule was like to burſt for fear.

In the mean time David Sinclair, my friend, came in, who had been at Mar's quarters the great part of the afternoon, and all that evening; he told, that it was takne notice of that Mar's quarters were never obſerved ſo thin as theſe tuo evenings; that he had watched all the Highlanders motions; that the five hundred men were ſoon diſmiſſed, who, they gave out, had been under armes on account of a buriell; that about fortie of them had been keept to goe, with their armes, about the quarters, in as negligent a manner as they could, and being there ſome time, were diſmiſſed by Glengarie; that he called eight of their officers, and brought them up to the great hall where all the companie uſed to be, and after poſting them there, that Inderye, Mar's Highland vaſſall,

whoſe little familie, I'm told, has been intercommond for theſe three generations,[1] ſaid, It appear'd odd to him that people could think of aſking terms, ſince we had yet ſuch ane armie on foot in England. The Viſcount of Kingſton,[2] who, when a ſecond brother, had ſerved King James the Seventh, and folloued him in his bad fortune into France, and ſerved him, as he ſaid, a great part of his life in raggs, and had given the greateſt proofs of his fidelitie, and certainlie no man to his pouer a more zealous ſervant, ſaid, He could not believe there was any bodie in arms for our cauſe in England; for that [it] was too well known, near a month by-gone, that all our poor friends there were priſonners. Inderey anſuer'd, haveing had his leſſon, or been prepared, Whoever did not believe their Generall, whether Lord or Gentleman, deſerved to be kickt doun ſtairs. And he no ſooner ſpoke than all the Highlandmen advanced to Kingſtoun; and, as they brag'd themſelves afterwards, Had he ſaid one word, he had been cut to pieces that moment; which, particularlie one Major Maclean, ſaid to Major Balfour. But what ſurpriſed Kingſtoun moſt was, that Southeſque had the courage to ſay, He ſeconded the member who ſpoke laſt: And no wonder, for Southeſque was never believed to have either the brains or ſoule of a mouſe; and happie for him that Kingſtoun, who uſed rather to err on the other extream, took it on that foot, and forgave him afterwards, out of pitie. Mar hearing of the buſtle, came out; and the matter being told him, as it paſſed, Mar ſaid it was his own opinion, that he did not believe we had any armie on foot in Engeland. But it was believed generallie that the miſfortune fell on my Lord Kingſtoun by chance, for, tho' he had doubted in ſigneing the Aſſociation in the beginning, yet complied after, and was readie to joyn in all they propoſed. I had reaſon to think, haveing ſaid a great dale more in the ſame place in the morning, and by the hint I had got from the Mar-

[1] The Farquharsons of Inverey were a very rough people, and had committed repeated raids and slaughters on their neighbours, particularly on the Gordons. The murder of Gordon, Baron of Brackley, by one of these Invereys, a celebrated freebooter, is the subject of a Scottish popular ballad.

[2] James Seton, third Viscount Kingston, attainted for that Rebellion. He died without heirs-male, and in him terminated the male line of his own family, and, it is believed, the second male line of the Earls of Winton.

quiſe of Huntley, that the ſnare was laid for me, who was the rankeſt of all the Mutiniers; and, in my way of thinking, the calling me ſo was the greateſt honour could be done me.

That evening Collonell Laurence[1] came to toun, and had been called for by Mar betuixt eleven and tuelve at night; which, with what folloued, gave occaſion for ſpeculation, tho' it was given out that his comeing at that time was accident, and that Mar had alloued him to goe from his confinement at Dundee to London about his private affairs, which he had been deſireing from the beginning: the cauſe of his getting it then was very viſible from what folloued. Our three Deputees returned to Mar in the morning; and his Lordſhip propoſed Collonell Laurence as the fitteſt man to be ſent to the Duke of Argyle, and ſaid, It would be the gaining of time to ſend him, becauſe if they imployed any other, they muſt firſt ſend a trumpet to get a ſafe conduct. Mr Ogilvie, Major Balfour, and Methvin, deſired leave to talk with thoſe who ſent them; and came and told us of the propoſale. It was a ſurpriſe to hear that Mar, who had been ſo much againſt the thing before, appear'd, all of a ſuddain, to ſhew us the moſt expeditious way of doeing what we were ſo fond of: it put us on doubting and diveing into the advantages Mar could reap from ſuch a choice. Some ſaid, He deſigned by it to hinder our getting terms; for Collonell Laurence, haveing the libertie of the whole toun of Dundee, was as well informed of our circumſtances as we ourſelves, and would inform the ennemie fullie of them; but it was anſuer'd, If Mar deſigned doeing ſo, he'd find tuentie ways to inform the ennemie, and would ſtill let Collonell Laurence goe to Stirling, and from that to London. Another conſideration Mar might have, occurred to us, that ſince he was to goe to London, Mar would oblidge him to give him the return from Stirveling in writeing, and, by that means, could tell us anie ſtorie he pleaſed. The reſult was, that theſe three gentlemen ſhould return to his Lordſhip, and tell him, That ane ennemie, who muſt know our circumſtances, was not a proper meſſenger; but if his Lordſhip would have it ſo, they were order'd to inſiſt that he ſhould take Collonell Laurence's word of honour to come back and make his own report; otherwiſe, they deſired one of their own

[1] The officer of highest rank made prisoner by tho Insurgents at Sheriffmuir.

number to be joyned to anie other my Lord Mar pleaſed to chooſe. Who, finding himſelf tyed up ſo cloſe, promiſed to prevaile with Laurence to return; which he did. Laurence was diſpatched with offers of a ſubmiſſion, provided the Duke of Argyle had pouer to give us ſuch a capitulation as could ſecure our lives and fortunes. He returned next day late, and went to Mar, to whome he made the report. He was brought the morning after into a meeting of Mar's calling, where Huntlie had propoſed he ſhould make his report himſelf; which was, That my Lord Argyle had no pouer to treat with the Generall or the generallitie, but with particulars. Huntlie aſked, Why Mr Sinclair was not called for? And a certain Lord, whoſe name he never would tell, tho' often intreated, ſaid, You may as well bring in the whole toun. When Huntley told me of it, I ſaid, I was ſure it was one of thoſe bankrupt villains, Drummond [or] Kilſeyth. I went about to inform myſelf at ſome others of that meeting, who would not diſcover, and to all I ſpoke I gave them the ſame names, and ſhould been glade they had given me ane opportunitie of venting my wrath on either of them; and had it not been for their Highland guards, I had readilie takne the occaſion.

But to come back to the ſtorie. That very morning Collonell Laurence was ſent to Stirling, the Aſſociation was ſtill carrieing about the toun, which, tho' they gain'd no ground, ſheu'd their inclination. But that was not all; for there muſt be got a ſtronger barrier againſt all terms, and a full demonſtration. Mar was affraid of terms, by makeing Mariſhall's ſquadron, at leaſt ſo many of them as could be perſuaded to ſigne it, addreſs him, as if he had been a potent King, Never to admit of terms till the King was reſtored, the Union broken, and the Church eſtabliſht. But that appear'd ſo ridiculous, that inſtead of paveing the way for others, many of that ſquadron, eſpeciallie thoſe who had eſtates, did not ſigne. It's true, Glengarie and ſome of the Clans made another to the ſame purpoſe, at Mar's deſire. This fineſſe, couſue de file blanc, confirmed everie bodie that he had no mind to terms; or rather, that if he found himſelf excluded when Laurence returned, by theſe addreſſes he was to have it in his pouer to put a ſtop to all terms, and would ſacrifiſe the whole.

We were not ignorant of the reaſon the Heads of Clans had for keeping

the affair on foot as longe as poſſible, for they were maſters of what monie they were pleaſed to call for, or we could give; and falſe muſters were made by moſt of them everie day. They thought it was nothing to them to be driven out of Pearth, ſo longe as they had their hills to retire to, which is their ſtrongeſt bulwark, and after their common fellous had enriched themſelves with the plunder of the Low Countrie, who they'd fleece when at home; when it came to the worſt, they flatter'd themſelves they'd get monie to lay doun their armes, as they had got no other occaſions.[1] At ſame time, ſome bankrupt Lords, of whom Mar was the ſoule, haveing nothing to looſe, being of deſperate fortunes, thought they could not find a better occaſion then leave their Countrie with honour, rather than ſtarve and be deſpicable at home, and were to pin themſelves on the King; and could Drummond imagine that a man of his merite, compoſed of the quinteſſence of volatile ſpirits and vanitie, could be worſe treated abroad then his father;[2] and haveing alreadie done his work at home, by leaveing himſelf no more credite, and interditeing himſelf in favours of his ſon, he could not doe better than goe to France, where he had before him the ſupport of his relations, and would have occaſion to flatter his vanitie, "ayant agie en homme d'honneur, et en heros, et ayant toute perdue pour ſon Roi." The other Lords, in his circumſtances, had the ſame way of thinking, and tho' they could not plead the ſame merite, were convinced that he muſt be a very idle tool of a Lord who would not have ſome care takne of him, preferable to all others; for, where all were to be equallie ſtrangers, a title muſt have weight.

There were too many gentlemen whoſe wants had put them on the ſame foot, and their preſent neceſſities being ſupplied daylie by Mar, like the Lords were all at pains to buoy up thoſe who had to looſe; whoſe zeale, and ignorance of affairs, with Mar's artifices, ſoon perſuaded to doe what he had a mind, joyned to the impoſſibilitie of getting terms, which was ſo carefullie inculcated in them; and if they declared themſelves once for

[1] Particularly at the Revolution, when a large sum was sent to bribe the Highland Chiefs to submission.

[2] The Earl of Perth, Chancellor of Scotland in the time of James II, and fled with his Master at the Revolution.

terms, it was the being loſt at both hands; and were not ill pleaſed that I and others preſſed for terms, for if we ſucceeded in getting terms, they'd accept with us; if not, they had not declared themſelves, and had ſtill keept their court: nothing ſo eaſie for thoſe to be cheated who are willing to impoſe on themſelves. Houever, my Lord Panmure, who was at a diſtance, and in Dundee, hearing of the oppoſition Mar made to aſking terms, preſſed him to yeeld to ſo raiſonable a demand, by a letter ſent to him by Mr Ogilvie. But to ſhew farther impudence, and how mean ane opinion he had of all engaged, he ſpread a ſtorie, ſo ſoon as the capitulation was propoſed, that a ſhip was landed at Dundee, with fourtie thouſand pounds Scots, and thirteen hundred armes, as if it could anſuer our wants in any meaſure, tho' true; but this might have been calculated for his penſionaries and the Highlandmen.

Mr Hary Maule, who in his heart was for terms, but durſt not adventure the drauing Mar's wreath upon him by declareing for them, ſaid in jeaſt, to Mr Francois Steuart and me, ſome days after, in Collonell Balfour's room, while we were talking to this purpoſe, That the ſhip was ſunk betwixt Pearth and Dundee. But to end the negotiation of Laurence: His Grace of Argyle bid him tell us, He'd imploy his influence at Court to get a capitulation, and was to ſend one to London for that purpoſe, who, Laurence ſaid, was my Lord Roxbourough; and Argyle further promiſed, When he got a return, he'd let them know.

Thoſe of Mar's oun creatures who had ſigned the Aſſociation with him, pretended nou to take it very ill that Mar ſhould [have] ſent anie bodie to ſue for terms without their conſent; which, indeed, they had grounds for, had they been in earneſt, for he was bound, on honour and conſcience, to doe nothing without them; but this was onlie a copie of their countenance, to make others believe that they expected he was to be bound as well as they.

Tho' it was but calling them together to make them doe what he pleaſed, yet he thought it was of dangerous conſequence to allow them that way of thinking, while he had a different uſe to make of them; and in caſe terms had been granted, and any clauſe unpleaſant to him in theſe terms, they were to addreſs him beforehand, to ſtand to points that none but ſuch as were

determined to ruine their Countrie, and had that game onlie to play, or people out of their ſenſes, could have dream'd of. Nor would Mar himſelf, houever abandon'd, made ſo open and publick a breach of honour and conſciens, if they had not been intirelie his ſlaves, and he had not thought himſelf neceſſitate to keep up the diviſions amongſt us. They likewiſe complain'd that Laurence, ane ennemie and a priſonner, ſhould been imployed. He ſaid, It was the mutineers who oblidged him to make that choice; which, by what I have alreadie ſaid, may be eaſilie believed a damnable lye. But all occaſions were to be takne to blackne and terniſh their caracter, for fear truth ſhould be diſcover'd, which was ſo incompatible with his Lordſhip of Mar's vieus.

By this time Mr Francois Steuart, brother to the Earle of Murray, returned from Fife, where he had been ſent by Mar ſome days before he had preſented the Aſſociation, to prevaile with the Counteſs of Murray, his ſiſter-in-law, to goe to Stirling to the Duke of Argyle, her nephew,[1] to try what terms could be got for my Lord Mar, and for the whole. I don't know how it came to be ſpread in toun, that he was gone to make his own terms. I believe the neceſſitie for terms appear'd ſo great that the leaſt mouvement a man of ſo conſiderable a fortune, and ſo great expectations as he made, ſet all the bankrupts and Lords in toun on ſuſpecting, knowing that their own pretended blindneſs, or firmitie, as they'd have it believed, proceeded from their deſpair. They could not imagine that a man who, in all probabilitie, ſhould one day have as much as would make a dozen of ſuch as Mar's Lords happie,[2] could have longer patience; being convinced he ſaw at leaſt as clear as any of them. Tho' I knew him too well to ſuſpect him, yet it alarm'd me a little, hearing everie bodie ſpeakeing of it; and the rather that he had gone without telling me, who thought myſelf one of his intimateſt friends. So ſoon as I heard he was returned, I went to him. I no ſooner enter'd the door, than he ſaid, By God, I'm rarelie treated. How? what's the matter? ſaid I. What! ha'n't you heard through the

[1] The Countess of Murray was born Lady Anne Campbell, eldest daughter of the unfortunate Earl of Argyle, beheaded in James II's time.

[2] Francis Stuart was presumptive heir to the earldom and estates of Murray, in which he afterwards succeeded his brother.

toun that I have been at Stirling, makeing my peace? But, by God, it's the wiſeſt thing I can doe; for it ſeems we are all madd. Why, ſays he again, ther's no more bearing this falſe villain Mar, who, while he has been makeing his Aſſociation, had ſent me to my Lady Murray, (and ſo told me his meſſage,) and, in the mean time, ſpread in toun that I have been makeing terms for myſelf; and ſent me this morning one of his emiſſaries, nameing Hary Bruce, who, as it were to put me to the teſt, tells me, that whoever will not ſigne the Aſſociation deſerves to be piſtoled, and this before I have made him my report; and continued, It ſeems his Lordſhip of Mar is not content to make a fool of me hitherto, but he muſt make a knave of me too, or, at leaſt, appear as ſuch. I told him, Nothing ſurpriſed me in all that affair; he knew what was my opinion of Mar from the beginning; and told him over the ſtorie of the Aſſociation, a great part of whichhe had heard the night before. He ſaid, He'd ſhew me how we had been treated, and read to me my Ladie Murray's anſuer from Stirling, to his meſſage; for he ſtay'd in Fife till he had got her return; and read her letter, which begun with her journey, and her being receaved by Major Cathcart, and ſome other officers, within a mile or tuo of Stirling, by the Duke of Argyle's order. She told, She was civillie receaved by him, but ſhe did not expect to find Collonell Laurence there at ſame time, with, as ſhe thought, a more ample and more generall commiſſion then her oun; that ſhe could not underſtand what was the meaning of it, except to expoſe her to the jeaſt and laughter of the Duke and Iſla; to whom, I think, ſhe ſaid ſhe had diſcover'd nothing of her meſſage, or the deſſigne of it, for they'd reproach her for pretending to ſerve people who, tho' ſhe thought her friends, [had] put no confidence in her, ſince they ſent a ſtranger, and even ane ennemie, with more authentick pouer then that given her, in the very time they imployed her; houever ſhe had done, without diſcovering herſelf, all ſhe could. But the Duke would not hear of Mar, (which had been her firſt preliminarie,) but that he wiſht he could be capable to ſerve any of the other unluckie gentlemen; that ſhe found he had no pouer to treat with the generallitie, but with particulars; above all, deſir'd it might not be takne notice of that ſhe was concerned in that meſſage, for ſhe had given it out that ſhe was at Stirling to waite of Iſla, who was ſtill bad of his

wounds, and ſhe was to ſtay there ſome days; and this is all that I remember of that letter.

We had no ſooner done reading it then Mr Hary Maule came in, who took him to make his report to Mar, as Mr Steuart told me afterwards. I went to find out the Marquiſe of Huntley, to let him know what I had learn'd, but miſſing of him at Scone, for he had gone from home that morning, I left it to Mr Ogilvie to inform him. Huntlie had difficultie to believe it, but at laſt ſpoke to Mar of it, who could not denie the truth; and ſaid, It was to ſatiffie his uncles, Hary Maule and the Earle of Panmure, he had done it; as if that had been enough to juſtiefie him, or the ſhadow of ane excuſe, while he was binding himſelf and the whole, on honour and conſciens, not to enter into terms, or aſk terms, till the majoritie were ſatiffied; except he could prove, that he and his tuo uncles were the majoritie. Nobodie believed he had the leaſt regarde to either of them in it, and it was himſelf allenarlie which he was takeing care of, as he had always done, which it certainlie was: And before the return came back, in caſe terms could been got, and he excluded, he had trumpt up the Aſſociation upon us, by which we were to be bound up from aſking terms ever after, being jealous of the whole who he had ſo grofflie impoſed upon, and reſolved to ruine all, rather than he ſhould run the leaſt riſk, and take his meaſures afterwards, according to the anſuer. Thus he directlie and notoriouſlie forfeited both honour and conſcience tuice, to all men's conviction, in a week's time, and we continued to be called the worſt of men for not ſigneing with him.

When Huntlie told us of the anſuer, after all we had ſeen of him, we could not enough admire him who had ſo latelie opbraided us for deſerting our King and Countrie, ſo conſiderable a number, who, at laſt, he durſt not refuſe; and did, for his oun ſatiffaction, what we had ſo great difficultie to perſuade him to doe for the ſecuritie of the whole, on the moſt ſolid grounds, and by unanſuerable arguments. Mar and his partizans begun again to pluck up a ſpirit upon the refuſall, as if the danger had been over, and the battle gained; and thinking themſelves in ſecuritie, now ſaid, openlie, That had they knoun we were ſo few in number who had oblidged Mar to aſk terms, they'd laide us in priſon; and that

Mar was vext he had not done ſo to all [who] met the firſt evening in my quarters. And ſome called to hound the Clans on us; for the animoſitie was ſtill to be keept up, in caſe the Duke of Argyle had got new powers from Court to treat with the whole. Theſe wiſe gentlemen pulled off the cockards from the hats of ſeveralls of the fourſcore horſe who ſtaid with Huntlie, and treaded them in the kennells, and ſaid all the injurious things that can be imagin'd.[1] This was no more the Lord Mar who Alexander Maitland, one of his favourites, and always about him, told me, after our ſending the deputation, That, by God, he was weeping,[2] and we had broke his heart; and ſaid, For God's ſake yeeld to him. When I ſaid, I'd not yeeld to him, or any man ever was born, in that quarrell. He had not then ſpirit enough to keep up common decency; for, when he diſmiſſed Collonell Laurence for the laſt time, he had not recover'd courage. He fell of weeping before him, and, being aſham'd of it, ſaid, It was out of affection to his dear wife, and was ſure no man in England loved a wife as he did her. This Laurence told at Stirling, and it ſpread over all how reſolute a Generall we had. It's certain no man was ever more reſolute in the ruine of his Countrie and countriemen, and ſo tender of himſelf.

[1] The abuse heaped on the Gordons is accumulated in a song beginning—

"From Bogie-side to Bogiegight
The Gordons did convene, man;
With all their might, for battle wight,
Together close they join, man.
And oh! as the Marquis rade,
And oh! as he ran;
And oh! as the Marquis rade,
When the battle it began.

"Out came the Knight of Gordonstown,
Thus stepping on the green;
He had a wisp in ilka hand,
To dight the Marquis clean."

With much more to the same effect.

[2] Mar's unfortunate master, the Chevalier St George, also shed tears on evacuating Perth; but to his General, as well as to him, might be applied the speech of Prince Eugene when he heard the circumstance, "That weeping was not the way to conquer kingdoms."

I ſhall give one inſtance more of the terrour that was on his ſpirit, in a letter wrote by his Gouvernour, Clephan, to the Laird of Pourie,[1] Gouvernour of Dundee, one of Mar's confidents, on the Aſſociation's not goeing thorough to his mind, and dated the very night it was propoſed and rejected. Clephan told him expreſſlie we would be rent to pieces in a very little time, and there was nothing left to the King's faſt friends but to ſee to themſelves; and this was ſigned with his name and Adjutant-Generall, which Pourie, haveing keept correſpondence with him, juſtlie obſerved, He never ſigned but when he wrote by order, and told Mr Ogilvie his nephew ſo, when he ſhew'd him the letter; and aſkt him, Could Mar [have] blamed me had I gone off in a ſhip on the receaving this? If ſuch a hint was to be ſo conſtructed by the Gouvernour of a place, may we not conclude, without great breach of charitie, that thoſe who imagin'd themſelves the King's faſt friends were very much on the wing? And, reallie, I all alonge obſerved that thoſe who were of the moſt deſperate fortunes believed they were nearer of kin to him than any others; tho' I muſt doe Pourie juſtice to ſay, it was not the want of eſtate that brought him into that claſs. Mar had always four Highland ſentries on his houſe, beſides a ſtronge guarde of Highland foot, and a guard of horſe near to it; the tuo ſentries who were nixt to himſelf he changed that night from Highlandmen to gentlemen out of the horſe-guard. Sir James Kinloch and Methvin came in to me next morning, and told me of it, before I had got out of bed. Mr Hary Maule was pleaſed to come in a little after. I ſaid to him, I ſaw the reaſon of that change, Mar was ſo much affraid of himſelf he did not know whither to truſt Highlandmen or the gentlemen, ſince he was to have both ſentries on his ſacred perſon, but nothing could quiet a guiltie conſcience; which I did not doubt would be told his Lordſhip.

The heats ſtill continued betuixt the parties, tho' neither could tell for what reaſon; and tho' we had nothing left us but to pitie our Countrie's and our own common miſfortune. Our former ſtupiditie, by being quickned for ſome days with ane unuſewall agitation of ſpirits, turned into a violent rage, which, on other occaſions of that nature, uſe to vent itſelf againſt the

[1] Fotheringham of Powrie, an ancient family, commonly called the Saxon Fotheringhams.

ennemie, the dregs of lyes ſtill fermented with new yeſt, turned our furie againſt ourſelves, and tore out one another's bouells; a monſtrous war, which could not faile to end in the diſſolution of its oun bodie, tho' neither ennemie nor want had preſſed us; deſignedlie fomented for the preſent ſecuritie of one villain, and to lay a plan for both his eſcape and his further excuſe. Our Phiſitien thought he had no other intereſt but that of poyſoning us, under the ſpecious pretext of ſerveing the Countrie and the King. "Nihil in ſpeciem fallacius quam prava religio, ubi deorum numen pretenditur ſceleribus."

While Mar was ſtill blowing the coale underhand, he was not wanting in ſhewing civilities to all of us, giveing us encouragement to have recourſe to him for redreſs, which never any of us did, and were not at a loſs how to receave everie thing that came from his Lordſhip. Haveing obſerved I had not gone near him for a week, he ſent for me, as he was goeing to dine. I had difficultie to perſuade myſelf to goe to him, haveing put on the reſolution of never goeing where he was, but could find no excuſe for diſobedience, ſo long as I was under his command, which might have given him and his friends too good a handell for keeping up the differences, which I wiſht heartilie were let fall; ſo I obey'd. He deſired me to dine with him. I aſkt to be excuſed, and ſaid, I was engaged. He took me into his oun room, and told me, as if in confidence, That he could not underſtand my Lord Huntlie, who was ſo fretfull there was no doeing with him; and continued, Tho' God knows, I have treated him with all the reſpect and civilitie in the world, he is not commonlie civill to me; for theſe tuo days paſt he has made me ſuch ſurly returns to tuo letters I wrote to him, that I cannot underſtand his meaning, nor can I perſuade him to come to ſee me; and ſaid, I find he is goeing North without giveing me any adverticement. I ſaid, As to the firſt, it was not my buſſieneſs to enter into it, but could not conceave how his Lordſhip could been ignorant of the laſt, for I believed the whole armie had known it, and I had heard Huntlie ſay, he had told his Lordſhip of it, and the neceſſitie there was for his doeing it, ſince Southerland was advanceing ſouthward.[1] Mar made me a compliement, without takeing notice of what I told him, and ſaid,

[1] In which case Huntley's country were sure to be sufferers.

He believed I had a good dale more to ſay with Huntlie than anie bodie, and did not doubt, if I would take the trouble of goeing to Huntlie at Scoon, I could perſuade him to ſtay eight days longer, tho' Glengarie and Generall Gordon could not prevaile with him. I told my Lord, His Lordſhip did me no ſmall honour to believe I had ane influence on Huntlie, but that I would not deceive him; and ſaid, I did not believe I had anie, and that I had heard the Marquiſe of Huntlie [ſay] poſitive, he'd goe North in tuo days; but there was nothing ſo eaſie as to try what was to be done. So, leaveing Mar, I went to my Lord Huntlie, after dinner, who I found mightilie out of humor with all the indignities done him; I told him plainlie what Mar had ſaid to me; and his Lordſhip was pleaſed to read to me both Mar's letters, and his anſuers, which, I thought, afforded Mar no occaſion to complain of him. I aſſured him I did not enter into Mar's reaſons for his ſtaying, but that I thought both the publick good and his oun required it, ſince there ſeem'd ſome faint hopes left us of the Duke of Argyle's getting full pouer from Court; and till we ſaw what anſuer he was like to get, which, I hoped, might come ſoon, the onlie thing we could doe was to keep a countenance, and keep together; for the ennemie, on ſo conſiderable a man as he leaving Pearth, to goe north, would conſtruct it either a ruptur amongſt us, or neceſſitie to put a ſtop to Southerland's progreſs; either of theſe might be pernicious, and begged of him, till ane abſolute neceſſitie preſſt him, to delay it, and ſend orders to get his men readie, in caſe of a ſuddain call from that corner, for, as I have alreadie ſaid, all the foot that had folloued him had gone home. I put him in mind that if he went he left the whole, and himſelf, at Mar's diſpoſal, who deſigned no terms. His Lordſhip, haveing ane opinion of my probitie, or haveing deſigned to doe it of himſelf, conſented to ſtay eight days longer than the time he had ſet, provided Mar would order the payment of eight days' arrears to ſome of his poor gentlemen, and give them as much pay as carrie them home, when he marched. I returned, and made my report to Mar, and told him Huntlie was ſurpriſed that he did not remember that he had adverticed him often of the neceſſitie of his goeing north, ſince the Earle of Southerland was groun to ſuch a head, after takeing of Inverneſs; that he fear'd the diſarming of his vaſſalls, and guarniſoneing his houſes, and after

that, he had nothing to hinder him from paying us a viſite at Pearth. But that argument, tho' often made uſe of, was never to be admitted. I laid hold of that opportunitie to tell him, That when Huntlie went North I was reſolved to goe with him.

It's ſcarcelie to be believed that Mar, while he was makeing his outward applications to my Lord Huntlie to ſtay, wanted he ſhould be gone, and did all he could, for the ten days he ſtay'd, to exaſperate him, by rancouring all the old ſores, to increaſe the gangrene. His aſſociats again attackt Huntlie's followers to leave him, and did not ſtand to ſay, That no honeſt man ought to have the leaſt regarde to ſuch a man as he, and would allow none of theſe gentlemen who they durſt attempt, to bear his cockard, which was the liverie, as they ſaid, of a very ill man; and this tho' they knew they could gaine no ground, and all would be told him. The others, who they ſtill called mutineers, were not more favoured than he, except that Mar uſed to ſend for them, one by one, and wonder that ſo worthie a man, as he who he ſpoke to, ſhould been miſlead by ſome others who had treacherous deſignes, or were acted by fear; and, when he thought convenient, named ſome, and deſired them to believe that the cauſe was not deſperate; he had got good neus, but that it was not proper to tell them ſo ſoon, for he had done himſelf harm by being too communicative; and miſſed the entertaining very few of them in this manner, and ſpeakeing ill of the one to the other, while ſome of his emiſſaries were employed to act the ſame part which he did, and confirm people, and tell everie man in private, who they ſpoke to, that Mar had a great value for them; and uſed to expreſs himſelf in their favours; tho' the greateſt part of his accomplices breathed nothing but revenge againſt thoſe who had betrayed their King and Countrie. This procedure, when we had not given the leaſt umbrage, and had not any meetings, except when tuo or three of us met by accident, which we ſhunned as much as poſſible, not to have it conſtructed caballing, put us upon our guarde, not doubteing he'd excuſe ſome, provided the one-half would give up the other, and agree to make them the ſacrifice to his malice and ſafetie; for ſo long as there was the leaſt fear of our getting terms, he was not ſecure, for thoſe might be impudent enough to make head to him again,

if favourable offers came to us, and then he'd be no more maſter of a number of his oun, who the incertaintie of getting terms, had keept ſilent; ſo the alternative was clear, either to remove all of us from Pearth, or concur in makeing ane exemple of ſome of ourſelves, as a further proof of our ſtaunchneſs to him, and fix his followers to their oun and Countrie's ruine, which was a crime to ſay was not their dutie. His being ſo bold with his Countrie, left us no room to doubt that he'd make the leaſt ſcrupule of murdering ſome of us. The facilitie he had of forgeing letters, and the numbers of hungrie knights of the poſt about him, would ſoon give a legall pretext, provided he could once divide us; ("De beneficiis) oblitus, non ferociſſima tantum, ſed ignaviſſima quoque animalia timeri, ob virus malum." (Senec.) And on theſe conſiderations, reſolved to give no credite to any thing that ſhould be ſaid of any of our number; ſo that thoſe of honour, who had adventured to oppoſe him with thoſe difficulties betuixt the ennemie and him, were involved in ſuch labarinths, that they had a great dale to doe to ſupport themſelves, and ſtand the ſhock of all theſe calumnies he raiſed againſt him; and, by that means, alloued neither them nor his oun adherers to ſee any way but over the precipice. He knew, at ſame time, to make his complaints to all their relations, friends, and others, who they had the leaſt dependance on, if any had ſuch, who were not engaged; repreſented them in ſo black colours to thoſe at a diſtance, tho' neutrall, could not but have abhorrence of treaſon or treacherie to anie partie. And not haveing heard one word of truth from the beginning, and no opportunitie to ſee it, no wonder if they were impoſed upon by a popular errour and generall depravation, and believed him a new man, and changed from darkneſs to light; and being capable to judge onlie from what was told them, if they did not blame their friends, they did not pretend to defend them; and his Lordſhip of Mar never failed to make a ſpeech for them, (many inſtances of which I can give,) and if a younge ſiſter, and not ſuppoſed to be capable of a heroick ſpeech, but of a juſt reflection on the action of a brother, he keept the vray ſemblance, and made her dye of chagrine. He enter'd in to ſo low and mean practices that everie man, tho' willing, was not capable to withſtand him when he diſſolved the ſtrongeſt tyes in nature, and made the tendereſt part of the creation pronounce the cruelleſt

ſentences againſt their neareſt friends, to juſtifie him beforehand, in caſe he found it requiſite to murder their perſons as well as he had done their reputations, and robb them of the ſupport that the greateſt of malefactors have, when never men to their pouer deſerved better of their friends and Countrie: He alloued no more of a medium, and ſheu'd us, by what he had done, what he was capable of, and that there was ane urgent neceſſitie to compound with him and buy his favour, or redeem ourſelves from his virulent malice by betraying our honour and our Countrie by makeing ſo many tributarie lyes. He went yet further; it was ſufficient to have a reputation to be the butt of his and his abetterors' mercenarie tongues. Ther's nothing ſo eaſie as to doe evill; and to doe well, where ther's no danger, is not uncommon, but to doe well where there is danger is the proper work of men of honour.

I thought I had recover'd a littlc of his Lordſhip's favour, or at leaſt deſerved ſome ſhort ſuſpenſion of his calumnious proſecutions, after effectuating a comiſſion, which he ſaid, Nobodie could doe but myſelf; and ſince I was to goe North, to be out of that hell, feu or none but myſelf, being ſo teaſed, would; but I was treated worſt of all, while he was makeing his complaints to my friends. Upon my ſaying, I'd goe North, and in appearance extreamlie preſſing to ſtop me, he order'd me to be turned out of my quarters, which I had in Pearth from the beginning, and gave them to Glengarie, who had ſatiſfied himſelf with a tavern till then. I can't tell what other end he could have in it, except he thought I was madd enough to engage a whole Highland Clan, or rather all the Highlandmen in Pearth, and give Glengarie the ſatiſfaction of ſending to tell me he'd ſend tuentie Highlandmen to turn me out. I ſaid, I had friends enough to reſiſt thoſe, and a greater number, who were not affraid of Highlandmen, but none to riſque in that quarrell. I flattered myſelf that it would been the hardeſt command that ever was put upon any of Mar's Lords to [have] attempted it, and that they'd executed it but badlie if they had. Whether Mar deſigned it as a ſnare, or to oblidge me to owe the obligation to him of continueing ſome days longer, I can't tell; but I evited the firſt, and as I never had ane obligation of him, would not owe him one then, and

ſheu'd him I could ſtay in Pearth, ſo longe as I pleaſed, in ſpite of him, and denounce him publicklie, in everie ſtreet, a villain, who, I knew, was affraid of terms, and that he and his accomplices had no other deſigne but to betray and deſert their Countrie; when all they durſt doe was to ſlander me in corners.

I dare ſay ſome ſtill remember, that I often wiſht the Countrie could be redeem'd, with the loſs of any ſix heads, and if any of theſe miſerable Lords were affraid of himſelf, I'd oblidge myſelf to goe, with a rope about my neck, to Stirling, in his place; and that I thought no man's private ſafetie ought to obſtruct the publick good; on the contrarie, I took it to be the dutie of every honeſt man to embrace the occaſion of devoteing himſelf for his Countrie. I was ſo far from knocking under, or takeing any guilt upon me, for what I had done, that I openlie, and in everie companie, avoued and maintained it; and that, happen what would, nothing could excuſe thoſe who had oppoſed aſking terms, who could have no earthlie thing in view but the ruine of their Countrie, and by that, and everie other ſtep they had takne, could mean no other but cureing its diſeaſes and theirs by a generall overthrow and deſtruction. If I had done what was unbecomeing ane honeſt man, it was ſtrange that I was alloued to maintain it ſo publicklie. I ſaid, Traytors did not uſe to ſpeake ſo high as I did, and that all engaged were witneſs to my treaſon; and I had loſt no opportunitie to tell the whole both of it and the reaſons. Or, if that was not ſtronge enough evidence againſt me, I deſired to be called to a court-martiall, where I was readie to own and defend all; or, if not content, for reaſons of State, to doe ſo, I'd put it to another tryell, which was, to ſend him who they thought the beſt man of the number of the favourites to accuſe me to my face. Freedom is at all times the diſtinguiſhing mark of honeſtie, as hypocriſie is of falſehood; and no honeſt man who has firmitie but can claime hypocriſie as ane hommage to be payd him from the moſt elevated knave, which, to me, after the inward ſatiffaction of doeing well, is the onlie pleaſure amongſt thouſands of pains that a man of honour has. They ſlander'd me privatlie; I accuſed them in publick. I owned their charge; they denied mine. The event ſheu'd which of us formed the juſteſt accuſation. The

load of their calumnies had not the leaſt influence on me, or did I keep up the leaſt thing from my countriemen which was their intereſt to know, and rather chooſe to diſpleaſe them at my expence than pleaſe them at their own, nor could I ever entertain ane other way of thinking that I ought not to hazard as much to undeceave my countriemen as they did to cheat them, and if that was a crime, I confeſs myſelf guiltie.

About this time, goeing with my Lord Huntlie one morning to ſee Sir Donald MacDonald, General Gordon was pleaſed to talke to me in a civill manner, and wiſht I would not ſpeak ſo freelie; that he had ſeen a letter, in Mar's hand, from a certain man in London, who he named, giveing us great hopes of the King's comeing with ſupplies neceſſarie, and he could procure me the reading of that letter. I told him, If a letter of that kind had come to himſelf I'd given credite to it, but when he ſaid it was in Mar's hands, it was ſufficient reaſon to me to give none, and to believe it forged; and ſo longe as Mar continued to ſlander and deceave, I would undeceave. I became at laſt ſo much the butt of their malice that I drew the great ſhare of the burthen upon my oun ſhoulders, and few of the other mutineers cared to be ſeen on the ſtreets with me; they lookt on me to be in ſo deſperate a condition that they imagin'd I was to be cut doun. I was adverticed, both by friends and foes, that I was in danger. One evening Mr David Sinclair came from Mar's quarters, and ſaid, He had been thorough all the taverns in toun to find me out, and that, as he called for me, he obſerved ſome Highlandmen doe the ſame in everie tavern he was in, and that they were now in the houſe with him. He had no ſooner told us, for we were ſeveralls preſent, then one of thoſe intruded himſelf where we were, in a brutiſh manner; being on our guarde, one run out, and ſaw nine or ten of them in the next room; he propoſed ſome idle healths; after ſome ſhreud inſinuations, and ſeeing him a little fellow who was ſent to pick a quarrell, left him the room. The tuo friends who were with me, before Sinclair came in, were the Lairds of Orrock and Killrie, [who] told me the neceſſitie I had to take care of myſelf. I aſſured them I was as well provided as I could be, and that I was in no want of the ſame utenſiles Highlandmen

wears, tho' they were not ſo viſible,[1] and was determin'd to bear what was alloted me. I believed Mar knew his own circumſtances too well, and the friends I had, to think he could gain by my murther, which muſt certainlie doe him more harm than good, except he could bring it about by my undiſcretion, and then throw the blame on myſelf. They preſſed me to allow them to ſee me home, being late, and believing I'd be intercepted; which I abſolutlie refuſed, telling them, If I was to be attackt by Highlandmen, tuentie would not be enough to eſcorte me, and muſt have their throats cut, for the whole Highlandmen in toun would be upon us, and I'd rather they'd live to bear me teſtimonie afterwards of my zeale to my Countrie than fall in my quarrell; and forced them to leave me, ſaying, I'd doe my beſt, and was reſolved with the worſt. Theſe gentlemen were ſo perſuaded of the hazard I run, that they followed me at a diſtance, and told me of it next morning, and I am ſure remember it, and are not thought viſionairs. Sir Donald MacDonald, who has as much honour as any man, and more religion than all the Highlandmen put together, bid Sir Alexander Bannerman tell me, that I needed to take care of myſelf, for there were deſignes againſt me.

It was agitated in Mar's Cabinet-Councill, amongſt thoſe bankrupt Lords, (who were very angrie I took the freedom everie where to give them that name,) whether I ſhould be ſent to Dunnotter Caſtle, or ſome of the Weſtern Iſles; but ſeeing the gentlemen of the Countie of Fife ſo much my friends, that neither threats nor calumnies could ever diſunite us, Mar did not know what might be the end of ſo deſperate a courſe, and was now as much affraid as ever of the tide's turning upon himſelf; for everie day ſerved to enlighten us more, and he had now but little monie, and the Lords, and Highlandmen, and aide-de-camps would either turn upon himſelf, and, like Acteon, he'd be eaten up by his oun dogs, or deſerted by them for hunger, and forſaw he might fall in bad hands, for the King was not like to come to carrie him off. Mar had another conſideration, which was the fear of diſoblidgeing the Marquiſe of Huntlie, who he knew to be my friend; and aſkt Mr Abercrombie of

[1] Pistols, doubtless, which make part of the Highland garb, and are worn at the belt.

Bruntſtein, one of the Marquiſe's favourites and truſtees, who told me that he was aſkt a ſtrange queſtion about me, and inſinuated plainlie that it was, Whither or not he thought my Lord Huntlie would take it ill if I was made away with? but begged I ſhould not enquire further into that affair; for, as long as he lived, he'd tell no man more of it. One may eaſilie believe this made me look about me; tho', ſince there was no end of their backbiteing, I continued to ſpeak the ſame truths, being more then half perſuaded they durſt doe nothing by publick authoritie, houever willing. I wiſht any of the Lords or favourites would [have] taken upon them to chaſtiſe me; but muſt confeſs I did not like the Highlandmen, who are dangerous ennemies where they are the greateſt number; and did expect to be aſſaulted by them, whoſe unrulie humors nobodie pretended to anſuer for, and the cauſe of the quarrell laid at my oun door.

Mr Francois Steuart, ſome days after makeing his report, had returned to Fife. He told me, before he went, of his uneaſieneſs, and how impoſſible it was for us to eſcape our ruin; that for his part, he'd goe home and put his affairs in the beſt order he could, and that he did not like theſe threats of piſtolling; nor could he underſtand the meaning of ane Aſſociation where Mar, tho' equallie bound, without the leaſt regarde to decencie, had forfaulted ſo impudentlie both his honour and conſciens; and more impudentlie, continued to make his abettors ſlander and threaten thoſe who would not devote themſelves, families, and Countrie, to his pleaſure. To that he added, He had been very ill uſed, and tho' Mar had made him Treſaurer-General, and tho' he was bound for all the monie, yet his Lordſhip had given private orders to his ſubſtitute or depute to give all the poor Lords, and a great manie others who pretended to be great men, conſiderable ſoumes, with a caution not to let him know of it. He went home, (and never joyning the armie after, it was ſaid he made his peace,) I firmlie believe being wearied of the many millions of lyes, as everie honeſt man was, and ſeeing they were to end in nothing but our deſtruction, of which no man had a deeper ſenſe. I went doun to the countrie ſome time after, to take my longe farewell of ſome of my friends, who I had never ſeen from my firſt goeing out, tho' within half a day's journey of them. I found my good fame had got there before me:

" Tam ficti pravique tenax, quam nuntia veri." (Virgil.)

I did what I could to undeceave them, and, as a further proof of the truths I told them, my ſpirit of propheſie moved me to aſſure them that ſo ſoon as the thaw came[1] we were to retire from Pearth, and my Lord Mar was to take a ſhip; and deſired them to form their judgement of me from that event.

Before I went to the countrie I ſent one of my ſervants to Mar's ſecretarie, to bid him tell my Lord I was goeing to Fife, and if he'd order me a paſs, it was well; if otherwiſe, I'd find the way without it. His laſt meſſenger to France, Mr Forbes, had returned to him that morning, and he deſired I'd come to his Lordſhip; which I did, and was receaved with a moſt gracious air, and found Forbes there, who promiſed fine things about the King's comeing, and that there would neither be want of armes, or any other thing, very ſoon. And Mar added, That officers were comeing to us from different places of the world, and told me a longe ſtorie of the King's being to be murther'd in France. All I anſuer'd was, That it was a ſtronge ſigne the Regent had not been ſo much our friend as had been given out. Mar bid me tell all I met, They'd ſee their Maſter ſoon, which I did not give the leaſt attention to; for, to repeat nothing of Mar, Charles Forbes was known never to have ſaid one true word in his life, or, if he had, Mar would not have ſent him that errand; ſo theſe neus were carried no further by me.[2] On my return Huntlie was to leave Pearth, the time he had ſet being nere elapſed, and being everie day more and more urged to goe North, by letters from thence, to put a ſtop to Southerland's progreſs, who had been at Elgine, within ſix miles of his houſe, with fifteen hundred men, and was to be ſuppoſed would not be

[1] The long-continued frost prevented Argyle's advance, or, more probably, he saw the snowball of insurrection was about to dissolve of itself. Meantime he gradually straightened their quarters, and accelerated the necessary separation of their forces.

[2] He spoke truth on this occasion however, for James actually arrived. It seems to have been the final hopes which Mar had founded on the Chevalier's arrival giving a new impulse to his undertaking which made him throw so many difficulties in the way of a treaty.

longe of guarniſoneing his houſes, and diſarming his tennants and vaſſalls, who could not be got together without his oun preſence; which, if he did not give a check to in time, there was nothing to hinder Southerland to cut off our communication from all the ſea-coaſt touns, and attack ourſelves at Pearth with ane armie four or five times greater than ours; for his numbers muſt have ſuelled on the road, where there were enough diſaffected to us in that longe tract, who might readilie joyn the gaineing ſide; for all who would ſee, ſaw what the end muſt be, and even thoſe who would not allow themſelves to ſee, ſaw it in ſpite of themſelves. Tho' it's inconceaveable how far men's diſguiſeing their ſentiments from one another tends to cheat themſelves as well as others, and perſuade themſelves of ſucceſs contrarie to all probability, yea, all poſſibility. I don't comprehend how any that did not feell it and ſee it can form the leaſt idea of it, for I myſelf could not, if I had not done both; nor would all the teſtimonies on earth convinced me of it; ſo much ought men to be on their guard, and ſo little doe they know themſelves, and what they can be lead into; and ſince the Creation I can't imagine ſo ſignall ane exemple of it can be given; for I doubt, if terms had been offer'd at this time, that we could been brought to accept. "Iis per ſimiles qui in magnis doloribus mente laborantes, vim morbi non ſentiunt." (Hippocrat. Aphoris.) "Ut[que] in corporibus, ſic in imperio graviſſimus eſt morbus, qui a capite diffunditur." (Plin. Epiſt.) And yet we knew the Dutch troopes were in Scotland, and ſome of them advanced betuixt Edinburgh and Stirling.

Huntlie went North a day or tuo after his appointed time, and I ſtayed ſome days after him, to talk with thoſe gentlemen who had put themſelves in my hands, and with the command of whome I had been honour'd. I put them in mind of what I had ſaid to them before their goeing out; and challenged them to ſay that, in all the courſe of that affair, anie thing had happened which I had not fortold them. They now ſaw to what ſtate they were reduced, and the conſequence of their incredulitie to what I told them; and their credulitie and complayſance to bad men, when their zeale render'd them ſo inſenſible as to give no ear to the truth, authoriſed me but too much to reproach them. It was evidient, from the uſage of thoſe who of late endeavoured to wake them out of that inſenſibilitie, even when the

danger was fullie in view, that thoſe traytors, who had cheated them ſo groſſlie from the beginning, had nou laid a neu plan, which was to end in the extinction of all concerned; and were paveing the way in time, to make them look on thoſe as the authors of their miſfortune who were the faithfulleſt of their fellow-ſubjects, and prepare them for a further cheat in time and need. To turn them looſe in purſuite of the innocent, who they were to throw in their way, in place of the guiltie, when deſpair, rage, and furie would ſeize them and blind them, more than their zeale had done in the beginning; while they themſelves, with that addreſs, were to eſcape their juſt reſentment; and that was the reaſon, if they did not know it, of the griveous complaints againſt the mutineers. Was it not then liklie to happen, that when theſe heros have takne the ſtart, which they'd take care to doe earlie, and be at a diſtance before their chagrine and rage could riſe, that they'd turn all their reſentment againſt the good countriemen who have expoſed themſelves to repair their miſfortune, the effects of their oun bad management and lyes. For we ſaw everie day the greateſt part, without putting themſelves to the trouble of diſtinguiſhing the reall authors of their ruine, deſire no more but to ſatiſfie their rage, and diſcharge it on the firſt they meet with. While, then, thoſe things were freſh in their memories, I begg'd them to reflect and remember who thoſe good men were to whome they knew we and our Countrie owed the great obligations of being forced to abandon it, which muſt happen very ſoon, or give themſelves up to be hanged; and who thoſe who had dealt with them with candour and probitie, which was now become the greateſt of crimes. They had been witneſs to my doeing my dutie honourablie, and in what manner I had been treated; and that neither the threats nor the virulence of the calumnies of my agreſſours had ever ſilenced me either to betray my Countrie or my oun innocence, who I never failed to anſuer in plainer and higher ſtile then they durſt accuſe me. Now my Lord Huntley was gone North, it was in vain to ſtruggle; and, as I had told them, I deſigned to follow him, haveing given ſo much umbrage that I could be of no further uſe to the cauſe, which now was not onlie deſperate, but ſunk; or to my friends, but rather bring them into inconveniences. The dye was alreadie thrown and deſtruction turned up, which, tho' there were a poſſibilitie of eviteing, their rulers

would not [have] alloued them; which was ſufficientlie diſcover'd by the uſage of thoſe who endeavoured to open their eyes, and by everie ſtep that was takne, by their fomenting and raiſeing differences to ſuch hights, upon the leaſt diſſenting from them, after being fed with lyes for four months bygone, and when all credite was exhauſted, if ever it could be; as if, when they could not put a bar in its way, they deſigned ſhewing the ennemie our weakneſs, by widening our diviſions; the moſt infallible method they could fallne upon to bring about their wicked deſigne. It had been objected to me, That I had nothing to looſe.[1] I ſaid, I was the firſt who told that myſelf; and I pretended by that to ſhew my accuſers that I had love to my Countrie and honour, which was more then they had, by which I could ſtand the brunt of all their malice, and, when they pleaſed, run the riſk of my life to ſerve my Countrie and friends, when it might be as eaſie for me to act the bravo at others expence, as they did; for I had been abroad ever ſince I was capable of any thing, and had learned the languages, and a trade which had inured me to hardſhips, and ſerved amongſt ſtrangers, where I had reaſon to hope I could ſtill get my bread, being younge enough, and perhapps have ſome other ſupplies, which many engaged had not reaſon to expect. I recommended, warmlie, to them, the care of themſelves. I repreſented to them, That ſince I was to leave them they'd find very few who either would or durſt tell them the truth, after the perſecution and tryells I and others had ſuffer'd for it; that all that was now left them was to think of themſelves and families in time; that they could not poſſiblie doe any ſervice to their Countrie by their oun projected ruine; on the contrarie, it was rather their Countrie's intereſt that they ſhould be ſaved; and I could ſee no manner of tyes they could have to them who had reſolved both their and their Countrie's deſtruction. They had but to think whither they ought to have greater conſideration of their children, wives, eſtates, and themſelves, than of thoſe, for that was the preſent ſtate of the caſe; nor would their continueing with them ſave them. I could not ſee what they had left them to doe but make their application to get their oun terms where they beſt could, and in a way not to doe harm to others; which I did not doubt everie honeſt man would take care of. That bankrupts,

[1] His father, Lord Sinclair, being alive, and in possession of the family estate.

knaves, and fools, who ſupported Mar, and were ſupported by him, might ſay what they pleaſed; but ſo ſoon as the froſt was gone, their ruine was certain; that I'd lay all that was dear to me upon it—my honour, which I had given ſufficient teſtimonie I valued more than my life. I thought it ane indiſpenſable dutie upon me to tell them what I knew, ſince they had been pleaſed to truſt me; and a neceſſitie upon me to clear my oun reputation, ſince Mar and his abettors had been at ſuch pains to blacken me, that they might judge by what they'd ſoon ſee, whither I had not reaſon to doe what I had done. And now, ſince we were to ſeperate, and I could not bear to ſtay and be preſent at the miſerable cataſtrophe of my poor deſolate Countrie, I begged they'd doe me the juſtice to remember, that whatever happened to them it was not the effect of my lyes or ambition that had brought them out, which might be very well objected to others who pretended to be leading men; and that there was none of thoſe who I commanded who could ſay but his oun zeale had done it. As I did not care to bear the blame for any bodie, I would not rob them of the glorie; for all I aſkt was to have it ſaid, as I told them when I came out, I came to ſacrifiſe myſelf with them, and run all riſks in the ſervice of my Countrie; but all hopes being extinguiſht, I had no further to doe but retire, and leave the finiſhing of that great work to thoſe enterpriſers who begun it. I neither had eſtate nor children: I did not ſee why I ſhould give myſelf up to the Gouvernment to be hanged, which my rank and caracter might readilie procure me. Their caſe was different, they were bound to run all hazards to ſave their eſtates, to keep their children and wives from begging; and repair, at their oun expence, the follie they had committed: that it was the ſame to their families whither they were hanged or gone over ſea; but not the ſame to them, for they'd live to hear nothing but complaints and miſerie, when they themſelves would have too much to doe to bear the load of their oun miſfortunes; whereas, if they ſtayed in the countrie, and ſubmitted in time, none of them being very diſtinguiſht, they had reaſon to hope for the beſt uſage, and they'd not all ſuffer; and if, in that number, ſome loſt their lives, and the others eſcaped, ſo many poor women and guiltleſs children would be redeemed from miſerie; the Countrie would ſtill gain. That it was very

difficult to adviſe in ſuch caſes; but if I were in their circumſtances, I'd doe ſo. That in extremitie, where a hard neceſſitie impoſes the law, deſperate remedies are uſed, ſometimes with ſucceſs; and intreated them to believe it was their caſe.

"Talibus atque aliis in que dolor ipse disertum fecerat." (Virg.)

Haveing render'd them this laſt dutie, as I could convenientlie meet with them, ſeveralls of them went home before I left Pearth, others ſpoke of goeing North with me, which, I ſaid, was to no purpoſe, except they thought to leave the countrie. Some preſſed me to ſtay. I told them, If they were convinced there was no diſeaſe they needed applie no remedie; for my part I would not be acceſſarie to what was deſigned. All I can ſay is, that we ſeperated with regrate, and, I was told, moſt of theſe gentlemen went home, and a very few have ſuffered by the loſs of their eſtates, and none at all by the loſs of their lives. Whither this has happned them intirelie by the particular lenitie of the Gouvernment to them, and the generoſitie of ane ennemie in the ſame countie[1] with them, which can never be enough commended, or in ſome meaſure is owing to my poor tho' zealous advice, which put them in the way to receave that favour, never haveing heard from them I can't determine; but I flatter myſelf that I contributed the great pleaſure and onlie reſource in my miſſortune, and I doubt not that haveing profited by it, they are no leſs thankfull then when I gave them that harſh, tho' well meant, councell; if otherwiſe, I am ſatiſfied with haveing had a good intention.

Some time before, Mar had diſoblidged a good many of thoſe gentlemen by ſending for John Carſtairs, and, in a jearing way, aſking, before the whole company while at dinner, What, John, are all the Fife folks gone home? and are they at all to come back? It being their tour to mount the horſe guard that day, they had not mounted the full number, tho' they had mounted tuice as ſtronge as the Pearth and Angus ſquadrons, who had [been] given to that guard the tuo days before; and never any from the beginning uſed to mount the full number but themſelves, for on thoſe occaſions I ſeldom failed of being Agitant and Corporall,

[1] The Earl of Rothes is probably here intimated.

and took care not to commit the ſame crime I found daylie fault with in others; and that ſquadron had been remarkable for doeing their dutie with more exactneſs than anie, and I and they knew there were more of us then, in and about Pearth, than of both thoſe ſquadrons mentioned. But their refuſeing the Aſſociation, and to give implicite faith, was ground enough to Mar to put ſome mark of his diſpleaſure on them, right or wronge; after haveing tryed all expedients, he could not maſter his temper ſo much as not to make petulant reproaches.

Mar ſtill perſiſted for my ſtaying, or at leaſt ſeem'd to doe ſo. I believe he ſuſpected my carrieing off moſt of the Fife gentlemen with me; which I never thought of, nor had they monie at that time to ſubſiſt in the North, haveing lived at their own charges ever ſince their comeing out, and could not leave the nighbourhood of their oun countie.

Doctor Abercrombie came to me in John Carſtairs' chamber, being onlie a day at Pearth after his return from France, and, as I ſuppoſed, ſent to me from Mar to make me a ſoothing compliment, to try if that would ſoften me, being ſo uneaſy that he did not know whether to blow hot or cold. The Doctor told me, before the companie, He came to tell me he had been to waite of the Queen at St Germains, and that he brought me the Queen's thanks for my takeing the arms and pouder out of the ſhip at Bruntiſland; that ſhe had been informed of it much to my advantage, and tho' ſhe never doubted of my familie's fidelitie to the Royall Familie, yet ſhe was pleaſed that the onlie ſucceſſfull thing that had been done had fallen in my hands, and that whenever it ſhould be in her or her ſon's pouer to ſhew me favour, or my familie, I might depend upon it. The Doctor told me likwiſe, That he was glade to hear, at Aberdeen and in the North, that it was I who ſaved the armie at Dumblain,[1] and that everie bodie did me juſtice on that head, and own'd, that it was by my conduct thoſe ſquadrons were keept together. I ſaid, I was happie to have done anything to deſerve her Majeſtie's takeing notice of, or might make me knoun to her. I believed ſhe had reaſon to think well of my familie, ſince no familie in the Nation could give greater proofs of their firmitie to the intereſt of the Royall Familie. I aſkt the Doctor, What

[1] It would be difficult to make out that point.

had become of the King? He ſaid, That he did not doubt we ſhould ſee him very ſoon, and that the Queen had haſtned him away to be in Scotland before him. But this paſſed for words of courſe, and added nothing to my hopes; we were ſo ſurfited with lyes, that there was no more belief left. Tho' the Doctor had always had the caracter of a candid, honeſt man, yet there was no hindring one to think that he was poyſon'd by Mar. He was aſkt, If he had brought any thing with him? He ſaid, He had brought gold, but he could not ſay the ſoume was great; which, indeed, was very modeſt. Whither it was the effect of the Doctor's naturall veracitie, or of Mar's finding that his hyperbolicall way of ſpeaking begun not to take, I ſhall not poſitivelie determine; but I am apt to believe it was the laſt; ſince he, as well as others, muſt [have] ſaid what he bid him. Then it was aſkt, Why not pouder and arms? He ſaid, It was not poſſible to bring any from that place he came from, there was ſo ſtrickt ane eye keept over them. We were told that he had brought four thouſand piſtolls, the ſame ſoume Generall Ecline and Forbes had brought in their ſhip, which arrived ſome days before at Montroſs.

The night before I left the armie I went to Mar, and told him of my goeing North nixt morning; that I had given ſo much umbrage, I thought I was of no further uſe there. He ſaid, I'd ſee the King before he ſaw him; and I left him, without makeing the leaſt anſuer. When I came out from him, Generall Gordon ſaid, My Lord Huntlie would have ane eaſie purchaſe of Southerland, for thoſe with him were ſheepherds. I ſaid, I did not know what they were; I thought they had been Highlandmen. All I met will bear me witneſs that I told them their fate, and particularlie to Struan, the laſt man I ſaw. I waited of my Lord Balcarres, who was quarter'd betuixt Pearth and Dundee, who told me Mar had ſent to aſk a ſtrange queſtion, What his ſon James was doeing in Fife? For he had heard he was gone with a deſigne to imploy ſome bodie to make his peace. Balcarres anſuer'd that demand with more ingenuitie than old courtiers uſed to doe, and owned that he ſent his Son with inſtructions to his Mother to goe to Edinborough, and make uſe of all her friends' intereſt, that, in caſe of ane indemnitie, he might not be excepted. All who were moſt remarkable or diſtinguiſht of thoſe called Mutineers

had now left Pearth. I found Sir James Kinloch at Dundee, who being ſenſible of the irretriveableneſs of our affairs, and to be out of clamour, had retired there. I went from thence to Aberdeen, after ſeeing ſome friends on the road, where the Magiſtrats and Univerſite did me all the honour I could expect, and haveing ſtay'd there ſome days, I found they had got a bad account of the Mutineers, and becauſe I was ſufficientlie knoun to be one of that number, I thought myſelf oblidged to tell true matter of fact, and undeceave them; which I found was laid afterwards, for want of other pretexts, as a heavie crime to my charge; as if his Lordſhip of Mar might aſſume a priviledge of takeing away a man's reputation, with that perfidious deſigne of invalidateing his teſtimonie, to ruine more innocent people, without its being alloued him to juſtifie himſelf, or advertice his nighbour that his houſe is undermined and falling, that he may eſcape the being cruſht under the ruines. I value myſelf on it that I ſet the day, and forſaw it, and I have the conſolation that I durſt fortell it. For nothing could avert our ruine except God Almightie had wrought a miracle, which He does not ſeem to take pleaſure in theſe many ages. "Sed homines inertiſſimi, quorum omnis vis virtuſque in lingua ſita eſt, forte, atque alterius ſecordia dominationem oblatam inſolentes agitant. Nam, quæ ſeditio ac diſſenſio civilis tot unquam illuſtres familias ab ſtirpe evertit? aut quorum unquam victoria animus tam præceps tamque immoderatus fuit?" (Saluſt.) If I han't been found right in my conjectures, and have raiſon'd like a man who was ſtruck with a panick fear, or whoſe head was turned, I conſent that I may never more be believ'd, and lookt upon as a viſionarie or ane extravagant fellow.

It was told me at Aberdeen that Seaforth was carrieing all before him in Southerland's countrie, and more then ordinarie care was takne, by thoſe poſted there for the like ſervices, to make the world believe that Seaforth was ſtill ane Alexander; and everie day packets ſent up to Pearth, and things repreſented there and every where ſo eaſie, that it was ſaid, except Huntlie would ruine that affair wilfullie, the Earle of Southerland muſt render himſelf priſonner, with all his people. But the verie day I came to Caſtle Gordon, which was on Chriſtmas Day, I found what was wanting. I told my Lord Huntlie, That the reaſon of my comeing to him was to have

a quiet refuge, after being wearied to death with fighting that monſter with many heads, many hands, many feet, and, which was worſt of all, many tongues, which St George's dragon was a jeaſt to; nor could his conflict be ſo well proven as mine. I had ſtruggled with as much zeale in Pearth, for my Countrie, as St Paule could doe for his religion with thoſe beaſts at Epheſus; and ſince I found I had gain'd ſo little ground, I was glade to waſh my hands of them, and retire where I could live in peace. I begg'd of him never to rely on any thing I ſaid in that cauſe, for I ſaw there was no ſerveing it longer, and intreated him to follow his own way. I told him a ſtorie that I have oftne heard from my father, of his predeceſſour the Earle of Huntlie, and of the Earle of Caithneſs, refugeing to mine, after killing the Earle of Murray, and burning his houſe at Dunnibirſell, which, tho' not altogether ſo juſtifiable as my caſe, was found to be done by James the Sixt's order;[1] and that my anceſtour, who was well known in the countrie by the name of Batee,[2] which the King had been pleaſed to give him, becauſe he told his Majeſtie all his faults, and was a man of the greateſt frankneſs and honour, made his anceſtour and the Earle of Caithneſs the naive Scots compliment, that they were very welcome to come to him, but they had been much welcomer if they had gone by,[3] and eſcorted them up to the Highlands, and put them ſafe in the hands of their oun people. If that was my preſent caſe, I ſaid, I'd deliver him ſoon of the trouble, for I'd goe to the countie of Caithneſs, where I knew I'd be well receaved; but I was not fond of doeing it, becauſe it would be badlie conſtructed afterwards by thoſe who I ſau nothing could ſatiffie but the ruine of all, and perhaps get no great thanks from thoſe I endeavoured to ſave. But what I wanted moſt was a ſhip to get out of the countrie to

[1] This calamitous event is well known from history and from song. The Royal warrant went only the length of arresting "the bonnie Earl of Murray." Although, either from his resistance or Huntly's feudal hatred, he was slain.

[2] The common name of a village cur, as if Lord Sinclair had possessed its qualities of barking and snarling on all occasions.

[3] Lord Sinclair's strong castle of Ravenscraig lies on the shore of the Firth of Forth, within a few miles of Dunnybrissell, where Murray was murdered, so was the readiest and safest place of refuge for the actors in that affair.

any foraigne porte, for I forſaw that my being alonge with him would make me lyable to their calumnies, ſince things were not like to ſucceed, and they glade of ane opportunitie to lay no ſmall ſhare of it on my back, which would not lighten him much of the burthen. His Lordſhip receaved me with all the civilitie imagineable, and ſaid, I was nowhere more welcome than to his houſe, and if any thing was to be done at Inverneſs, he believed I could be nowhere more uſefull. I pray'd him not to think of me in that affair, for my fire was exhauſted with wreſtleing ſo longe, and beg'd of him to doe as he thought fit without me, for I had got enough of it.

I had not been long there, when Huntlie aſkt me, If I knew what had happned to Sir Robert Gordon?[1] I told him, I had heard a fooliſh ſtorie, a day or tuo before I left Pearth, of Mar's giveing out that he had intercepted a letter of Sir Robert's, goeing to the ennemie; but I imagin'd it of a piece with all the reſt of Mar's lyes againſt the Mutineers, Sir Robert haveing been all alonge one of them, and none of the leaſt forward in telling bold truths. I put his Lordſhip in mind that from the beginning we had reſolved to guarde againſt forgeries, and not to believe raſhlie of one another, ſince letters of that kind would readilie be produced to make ſacrifices of ſome, to give Mar more authorite, and juſtifie everie thing he had done againſt the whole, and ſplite us by throwing jealouſies amongſt us. He ſaid, All that was true; but Mar was ſo poſitive, and had ſent him a copie of the letter. I anſuer'd, That was no great argument; for it was by that very poſitive impudent way of his he had impoſed upon the whole ſo longe. But that I was not to juſtifie Sir Robert: if he had done any thing

[1] Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstown, unquestionably the most important person of that family, after the Duke of Gordon and Marquis of Huntly. The story of the letter after mentioned is alluded to in a song against the Gordons—

"The second Chieftain of the Clan,
For fear that he should die, man,
To save the honour of the name,
Raised first the mutinee, man;
And wrote a letter to his Grace,
The great Duke of Argyle, man;
And pray'd he'd grant to him his peace,
And Tories he'd beguile, man."

let him anſuer for himſelf; onlie, that I had reaſon to ſuſpect everie thing which came from Mar's hand. Huntlie went and brought me that copie of Sir Robert's letter to Argyle, incloſed in a letter of Mar's to Huntlie, deſireing him to ſecure Sir Robert, and telling him he muſt not aſk how he came by the incloſed letter. What ſurpriſed me moſt in Sir Robert's letter was a fooliſh overlie intelligence which it pretended to give the Duke of Argyle, while he's aſking terms of him, which, if true, diſcover'd a bad inclination of makeing his peace at others expence; for it would been no great ſurpriſe, at that time of day, to ſee a man of one of the very beſt eſtates engaged, who ſaw very well all was ruin'd, doe for himſelf, after giveing ſo fair adverticement to his fellow ſubjects, who requitted him ſo badlie. But as to the letter and the intelligence, which was, The Highlandmen's deſerting daylie, and of monies being come from France, how great the ſoume he did not know, was purelie tryfleing; and I have often thought, that if that younge gentleman had deſigned to given intelligence, he could have given it as full as my Lord Mar, for he has a great dale of ſpirit, and was one of the cleareſt-ſighted amongſt us, and knew all that was to be known; nor could I imagine him capable of ſuch a mean thing. Huntlie ſaid, He'd ſend for him and queſtion him, and if he was guiltie, he thought he'd not come, and would ſtand to his defence in his oun houſe, which was ſtronge; and reallie no man more readie to doe a thing of that kind, if he had ſuſpected. Sir Robert came at firſt call, and ſeem'd not a little ſtartled, but put his Lordſhip in mind we had foreſeen that ſuch tricks might been play'd to make us give up one another, and hoped he would not believe it. The letter was ended by telling his Grace of Argyle, That there was one who had formerlie ſerved Queen Ann, who wanted terms likewiſe. This Mar conſtructed James Murray, a couſin of Sir Robert's, who had been a Liutennant in the Engliſh ſervice, and the letter was ſuppoſed to be written in Murray's houſe, within three miles of Pearth, where Sir Robert had been before his goeing North; and, as I have alreadie obſerved, it was dangerous to converſe with thoſe Mutineers; and becauſe Murray gave his couſin countenance, he muſt be brought in. Sir Robert deſired the favour of my Lord Huntlie to write to Mar for the originall, which he pretended he had, which Huntlie did more then once, but never

was anſuer'd. It ſeems Murray, who they were perſecuteing at Pearth, was no leſs anxious to have the originall, and preſſed Mar ſo very hard to ſee it that he was forced to ſay, He had ſent it to Huntley. Upon that he ſent his brother North to Huntlie to ſee the letter, and, till then, Huntlie was never fullie convinced of the trick; for truth can't have tuo ſuch oppoſite faces.

Some time after, Aphoſke, a broken Laird, who was one of the number of thoſe who Mar ſent about with full pouers to clear all exigencies, and write him letters to be ſheun, and give a wronge turn to everie thing done or ſaid by anie bodie who he knew Mar did not like, and wanted to deſcredite, ſaid, He knew what had become of that letter, and that Mar had ſent it to the Duke of Argyle after intercepting it, that the ennemie might know, as well as we, what man Sir Robert was. This is what I was ane eye and ear witneſs to, but not all the deſigne of the letter; for the whole Mutineers were to be blackned by that letter, and particularlie myſelf, who profeſſed a friendſhip for Sir Robert, being a younge man of nineteen years old, of great fire, courage, and good ſenſe, and with whome I chooſed to take lodgeing in Pearth, when turned out of my quarter, till I found another.

One of thoſe tuo days I was with him, Mar had ſent for him to coxe him, as he thought. He anſuer'd his Lordſhip ſo patlie, that he had ſoon enough of him; fair words were no equivalent for ſo good ane eſtate, to content himſelf, as he ſaid, to throw it away willfullie, without anie reaſon, but meerlie Mar's pleaſure. I doubt if, at the Union, where his Lordſhip did not riſque the half of it in reall value, that he'd been pleaſed with ſuch ane equivalent. I told openlie at Pearth that I'd ſtay ſome time with him when I went North, being nere nighbour to Huntlie, as well before as after I had heard the murmureing about the letter, which I lookt on as one of their ordinarie lyes, which was to goe no further; and I believe now, by the uſe which was made of that letter ſome time after, it was to pave a way for uſeing me no better, and that I was, in ſome meaſure, the occaſion of that younge man's miſfortune; and with his haveing moſt of his relations Whigs, would be the leaſt regrated ſacrifice Mar could make firſt; and, knowing Huntlie and Sir Robert had little differences, Mar

thought the eaſieſt attained to; and, if he could once enter in at that breach, he'd make the Mutineers deteſt one another; take all advantage of it; and there needed no more to the great part of mankind to exculpate him, and waſh off his ſtains with their blood, under a colour of juſtice. For, after haveing exclaimed ſo much againſt them as traytors, he could not think that could afford him any excuſe for the whole he had done, no further then to his oun abettors for the preſent time; for how could he afterwards [have] laide the load on their ſhoulders of ruining all, ſince he who was the incomprehenſible great man alloued them to ſpeak to himſelf and others ſo publicklie, when he knew them guiltie? He could excuſe it no other way but by his remiſſneſs, fear, or want of pouer, which are not relevant for a hero; and for that, ſome one was to be truſſed up or cut down, and more if poſſible, that at leaſt ſome ſorte of ſatiſfaction and reaſonable ground of the miſcarriage might be given both to thoſe at home and abroad; and the victimes would bear witneſs of it, and the crime fixt upon their memories, who were not to ſpeak for themſelves; thoſe concerned with them muſt ſtand convicted and condemned, run and take guilt upon them, and hide for fear, and there would not now been a teſtimonie againſt him either abroad or at home. This, in my opinion, was his deſigne, and not to be doubted of in him who had alreadie done ſo much; while he overlookt the greateſt faults in his friend Thomas Bruce, and others, of worſe conſequence, being worſe timed than that charge laid to Sir Robert Gordon, ſuppoſeing it true. As to me, I never ſaw that gentleman before I ſaw him in Pearth, and never after but once in Caſtle Gordon; and have takne here Mar's permiſſion to ſay what I can prove of it, and what I reaſonablie conjecture. I forgot to mention that at Aberdeen the Provoſt had told me that letters were then in their hands from Mar to the King, which, they ſaid, were likewiſe at other ſea-port touns, as he thought to ſtop him from goeing further, and that William Areſkine, the laſt deſigned meſſenger to France, haveing been beat back by a ſtorm, was recalled to Pearth. What the occaſion of theſe things were I leave to the learn'd to judge; I ſuppoſe the reſult of a haſtie reſolution while the ſtrugle laſted, and before we left Pearth.

But to return to Huntlie: So ſoon as he had got home he ſet about

raiſeing his men, and makeing a ſtrickt enquirie after armes and pouder. As to armes, he found moſt of thoſe who had been at Dumblain had left their armes there; as for pouder, except ſome feu pounds, which doe not deſerve a name, and which, with a moſt exact ſearche, he found in little countrie chops, there was no ſuch thing in that place of the world; and ſet all hands to work in the nighbouring countrie, and got ſome few arms in and about Cullen of Boyn, and being old and ruſtie, without locks, had ſmiths repaireing them. Haveing done his outmoſt dilligence, all he could muſter of arms were ſeven hundred. In paſſing through Aberdeen he had ordered ſome pices of iron cannon to be ſent him; and theſe were all the warlick ſtores he had. This, with his goeing North with his fourſcore horſe, made Southerland, who was alreadie got the length of Elgine of Murray with ſeventeen hundred men, retire back to Inverneſs, his Lordſhip's old poſt, thirtie miles northward. What Seaforth was doeing when Southerland made that marche I never could learn, but if he had been the man of fire that we were told, it's obvious to [be] expected he'd marched up to Inverneſs, for he had been longe enough at home to have got his men together, or ought at leaſt to made ſome feint towards it. By all I could learn of my Lord Huntlie, he undertook nothing on his goeing North, and don't believe he made any promiſes to Mar of attacking Inverneſs; he had perſiſted till the laſt that terms might be accepted of, if offer'd, which he and many others ſaw Mar thought it his buſſineſs to obſtruct. In the mean time, upon the Earle of Southerland's advanceing to diſarm his vaſſalls, and guarniſone his houſes, there was ane abſolute neceſſitie to goe North and put a ſtop to his carreer in all events, and even in that of Mar's makeing his eſcape, which he oued to Huntlie; for, as I have alreadie ſaid, nothing was to hinder the Earle of Southerland from cutting off our communication from all the ſea-port touns, which, in Mar's oun way of ſpeakeing, muſt have cut of[f] all his oun hopes, for he did not then pretend we were to recover all without forraigne ſupplies and ſuccours, which Huntlie, nor no thinking man, expected. But his goeing North ſtill keept things in the beſt ſituation that was poſſible, and if he ſaw any light into getting of terms, he was reſolved to accept, and ſet a generall treatie on foot which Mar ſhould not fruſtrate; or if he did,

by the help of ſo manie who had nothing to looſe, the Marquiſe was to endeavour to comprehend all who would be ſaved, to hinder the intire deſtruction of the Countrie if poſſible; for it appear'd inevitable, and ſo nigh that it depended on the ſnows melting. Believe me, it's naturallie very difficult to determine what is to be done in ſuch circumſtances, and ſo ſtraitned with time, when you expect the ſtroak everie day; but the nature of our pollitick made it yet more difficult. This reaſoning did not hinder my Lord Huntlie to make all the neceſſarie preparations he could for attacking Inverneſs, as ſoon as weather would allow him, in caſe the other view he had did not ſucceed, and, from the beginning, wrote to Mar telling of his want of pouder, more then once; which he did not think fit to take the leaſt notice of, but repeated his orders to attack Inverneſs, which was impracticable at that time becauſe of the ſnow, even tho' there had been no other hindrance.

Generall Cadogan had been in Stirveling from the twelfth of December; and the ſix thouſand Dutch joyn'd the Duke of Argyle ſome days after, as other reinforcements had done before, from thoſe who had been at Preſton, and that armie was compoſed of tuentie-tuo battalions of foot, fourteen ſquadrons of dragoons, and eight hundred Highlandmen.[1] My Lord Mar, who did not find it for his purpoſe to allow of any thing to open people's eyes, till it came upon them at once like a clap of thunder, which he was expecting everie day, as the true tide to get off and win his head, when all would be overwhelmed with a dreadfull conſternation, chooſe to retire the guarniſone of Bruntiſland on the Dutch troopes comeing to Leith, and without ever being ſo much as threatned, which loſt him that countie ſoon after, which was ſo great a ſupport to him; for the ennemie[2] took poſſeſſion of that caſtle on the precipitate retreat of ours, who left it very well provided with meall, beef, butter, cheeſe; and the ennemie advanced further into the countrie, and guariſon'd the houſe of Leſlie, which cruſht all, and cut off his communication at Pearth from the coals, which they were in miſerie for the want of. There can be no

[1] To which is to be added, a complete train of artillery, sent down from London, Berwick, and Edinburgh.

[2] Under Robert Montgomery of Skellmorlie.

reaſon given for theſe ſuddain orders, but that he'd not venture the leaſt accidents opening thoſe poor people's eyes; while he was takeing care to glut his hungrie pack at Pearth with the eight thouſand piſtolls [piſtoles] which came from France, and gave them new life; which appear'd by his Lords ſpewing up, all of a ſuddain, nothing but French piſtolls, both at the baſſet tables and in the taverns, and their triumphing on the ſignall victorie gain'd over the Mutineers, being now maſters of the field of battle.

I forgot to tell, that before I left Pearth Mr Forbes, Drummond's engineer and ambaſſador, one who I have often had occaſion to take notice [of], and who came ſo latelie from France, had given it out, that by Mar's order, who he had ſerved latlie in the laſt caracter, that Fletcher of Saltoun[1] was turned ſpie to my Lord Stairs at Paris. Charles Forbes' teſtimonie was enough to make it believed, and everie bodie repeated with pleaſure what this pitiefull little raſcall gave out, by his patron's orders, no better man than he. Tho' Mr Fletcher was then at a diſtance, and intirlie out of Mar's way, yet his Lordſhip had heard he had been regrateing and deploreing the Countrie in his hands, who being a great judge of men, knew him perfaitlie, and, to be revenged of him, muſt give him the meaneſt of offices. I muſt ſay I, nor nobodie, has a title to complain of bad uſage, when he, whom none of his Countrie was ſuperior to in knouledge, and in true zeall to his Countrie yeelded to none of the old Romans, was ſo ſerved; and whoſe life extinguiſht very ſoon after, with his hopes to ſerve his Countrie, not being able to outlive the ruine and diſgrace our follie brought upon it.

But to return to Caſtle Gordon, where I then was. My Lord Huntlie receaved tuo letters; one from Collonell Hay, and another from Mar. The Collonell's, on his return from France, gave him aſſurances of the King's landing in a few days, and ane account of his haveing brought a patent of Duke for Mar; who, in his letter, gave him ane information of his writeing to his Grace the Duke of Argyle about terms, and that Argyle had anſuer'd him moſt civillie, and own'd he had not as yet got full pouers, but would communicate them ſo ſoon as they came to his hands. Mar ended this letter in ſaying, that they at Pearth

[1] The celebrated author and patriot.

had been oblidged to the ſtorm of ſnow, which had alloued them to eat their Chriſtmaſs gooſe there; however, he hoped to have it in his pouer to return his Grace of Argyle's civilities in a little time, ſince the King would be ſoon with us, and by his preſence all our wants would be made up. This letter being of a different ſtile from all his former letters, and ſo different from what he himſelf gave out at Pearth, Huntlie did not know what to think of it. His writeing to the Duke of Argyle about terms was a fair owning, for the ſecond time, a breach of honour and conſciens to thoſe with whome he had ſigned the Aſſociation. His confeſſing that the ſtorm had been the reaſon of their continueing in Pearth was onlie telling what we before had told him, (for this, vide notas,) and for ſaying which he had ſpoke of ſome of the beſt men engaged as traytors, yea, of Huntlie himſelf, and we could not conceave his reaſon for owning it now, nor could enough admire his impudence: it ſeems he had made uſe of it to make ſuitable diviſions. Collonell Hay's letter we had no regarde to it, onlie I ſaid to Huntlie, "My Lord, ce Duchè nous coutera bien de Comtè."

Before theſe had come to Huntlie, the King was alreadie landed at Peterhead, the tuentie-ſeventh day of September[1] [December], and was in his road to Fetterreſſo, where he halted. We were not longe of hearing from thoſe who came from the South that a younge gentleman had paſſed Aberdeen with Captain Allan Cameron; that they had gone ſtreight to Fettereſſo, and it was thought that younge man was the King; Cameron was gone on poſt to Pearth, and the other was left at Fettereſſo privatlie. This made Huntlie ſend a gentleman to Aberdeen with orders to goe on till he got the certain account. By the time he got there, he was certainlie informed the King was arrived, and that Mar was alreadie at Fetterreſſo. To doe Huntlie juſtice, being preſent when he receaved the news, he ſaid, "Now ther's no help for it, we muſt all ruine with him: would to God he had comed ſooner." There ſeem'd ſtill ſome fainte hopes to remain, which were, that ſince his Majeſtie had ſtopt at Fetterreſſo, and keept himſelf incognito there for tuo days, till Captain Cameron had informed Mar of his arrivall, his reaſon for it could onlie be that he wanted to know the ſtate of his affairs before

[1] It should be the 22d of December.

he'd goe forward to Pearth; for what other reaſon could have hinder'd him to [have] declared himſelf at Aberdeen, or from goeing ſtreight to Pearth? And by all that could be learned ſince, we found we judged right; for it's ſaid, that if his affairs were on a bad foot, he was reſolved to return without loſs of time, and leave his poor ſubjects the freedom of makeing terms for themſelves; a very juſt and reaſonable thought. Whatever was in it, as his declareing himſelf at Fettereſſo, and afterwards goeing up to Pearth, put a ſtop to all thoughts of terms on our ſide, ſo it's not to be doubted that the Gouvernment, houever inclineable they might [have] been before, could ever intertaine or allow of any ſuch propoſales from thoſe inclined to mercie, or the moderate people of their own ſide; nor is it naturall to think that anie, houever much credite he might have, durſt offer a thing of that kind.

My Lord Mar, who, as we at firſt ſuppoſed, would [have] met his Majeſtie privatlie, ſpread the neus at Pearth of the King's happie landing, and brought a numerous train with him to Fettereſſo, out of a view, I believe, to put it out of his Majeſtie's pouer to goe back, haveing alreadie publiſht his being there; and to confirm him of the certaintie of his affairs ſucceeding, by the approbation of all thoſe villanous, weake, miſerable, deluded dependers of his Lordſhip, who he brought alonge with him. Nor durſt Mar have left Pearth but with a cavalcade, and in a very publick manner, for the whole would have been at his heels ſoon after, imagineing he was to make his eſcape, and he'd run no ſmall riſk, or got to the King with a very bad grace, with the diſcovering all the weaknes of the affair; not to goe to the King himſelf would be undutiefull, and he muſt give this for his reaſon, which would not anſuer his end, and bringe his Majeſtie up to Pearth. Thus that unhappie Prince, intirelie a ſtranger to his oun affairs, as much as he had dropt out of another world, or from the clouds, as things ſtood, was brought in eminent danger of his life, without its being poſſible that it could have any other effect but that of the certaine ruine of his friends, and driveing the naile to the head, and riveteing the miſerie of thoſe who had ſo generouſlie ſacrifiſed all to ſerve him. It's certain, that he was made believe that his affairs in generall were on a good foot, at leaſt, very retriveable; that there were tuice as

many in Pearth as there reallie were; and that there was no more needfull to be done but the takeing of Inverneſs, which intirelie depended on Huntlie; and when that was done, the King would have a great armie from all places of the Highlands before the Duke of Argyle could attack Pearth. As for pouder, I ſuppoſe it was never ſpoke of, ſince there was no want of it at Fettereſſo; that the neus of his Majeſtie's arrival would no ſooner ſpread but all would return, and great numbers who never had joined would then come from different corners. Tho' they knew very well, except four hundred of the MacCleods, in the Iſle of Skie, there was not the leaſt ſhaddow of expectation of any others comeing from the Highlands, who had not joined us before; for all the others had ſufficientlie declared themſelves, and were actuallie in arms againſt us. As for gentrie, all who either would or could had alreadie joined us; nor, after a ſtrick ſearche I myſelf ſaw made in a great part of the North, was there a horſe, ſaddle, or pair of piſtolls more to be found, except in Caithneſs, where they had about ſixtie tolerable good horſe, well enough accouter'd. But all this being told in groſs, to no ſmall advantage, the Highlandmen were repreſented ſo wonderfull men, and ſo ſuift runners, that the ſnow, which was deeper than ever it had been ſeen in that countrie, could not ſtop them, and they'd be at Pearth from hundreds of miles diſtance, over hills, before the Duke of Argyle could marche eighteen miles in the plain. Plutarch (Apothegm.) and Tacitus, made uſe of in that place by the tranſlater: "Monſtrabo tibi cujus rei inopia laborent magna faſtigia, quid omnia poſſidentibus deſit. Scilicet ille qui verum dicat, et hominem inter mentientes ſtupentem, ipſaque conſuetudine porrectis [auribus] blanda audiendi, ad ignorantiam veri perductum, vendicet a conſenſu concentuque falſorum. Ibi fides in obſequium ſervile ſubmiſſa eſt, dum nemo ex animi ſui ſententia ſuadet diſſuadetque, ſed adulandi certamen eſt, et unum amicorum omnium officium, una contentio quis blandiſſime fallet." The King was carried triumphinglie up to Pearth. Generall Hamilton, who for ſome time had been very uneaſie, was alloued to ſee the King, and immediatlie ſent off to France. It was ſaid to the King the Highlandmen could not endure him, and Mar had done his beſt to make it ſo, that he, in any extremitie, might always have ſome one readie to glut the rage of the people; but

the ſpecious pretext given to the publick was, that he was ſent to the Regent of France, to inform his Royall Highneſs of the King's arrivall, and aſk aſſiſtance; this gave the generallitie hope that the King, who had come ſo latelie, expected ſtill ſuccours from France: but the reallitie was, Hamilton was glade to get off at any rate, and no wonder; and Mar no leſs glade to get rid of him, for fear he had pluckt up a ſpirit, and ſhelter'd himſelf under the ſhaddow of the King's wings, and told him the reall ſtate of his affairs; and after he was gone, another ſtorie was handed about privatelie, as if there had been grounds to ſuſpect he keept correſpondence with the ennemie; I ſuppoſe another of Mar's reaſons for ſending him that meſſage, or to hinder people's finding fault with his being ſent away. It's to be admired that all concerned were ſo ſimple, that even the ſending him away did not demonſtrat that there was no deſigne of defending Pearth, or doeing any thing; he alone had ſeen and knew more then all theſe preſent joyned together, and whatever miſtake he had committed, to everie bodies' conviction, muſt be alloued to be a very brave man, for that he had ſheud in every occaſion of his life. "Connivent fabulæ et intra conſcientiam veri fidem prementes, malunt pro vero celebrari quod pectoribus humanis fingentium calliditas infundit." (Macrob. Saturn.) How is it poſſible that ſome one of better ſence, or more probitie than the common, did not tell his Majeſtie that the Duke of Argyle had betuixt ten and eleven thouſand regular troopes at Stirveling, onlie eighteen miles diſtant, tuo ſhort days' marches from Pearth? Where they were not above the thouſand foot, and the others diſperſed at hundredes of miles, who it could never be imagin'd could joyn him before the Duke of Argyle muſt beat up his quarters at Pearth; which was at no time tenible, far leſs when he neither had arms, men, nor pouder, and when monie and all neceſſaries of life were equallie wanting. I can't think but one might [have] judged, without conjureing, that Huntlie could not attack a place without pouder, where there were more men then he had, and much better armed; and if it muſt be owned that it was the ſtorm which hinder'd his Grace of Argyle to attack Pearth, which, as I have ſaid, was ſo near, and where his armie was alreadie together, is it not hard not to allow Huntlie to be ſenſible of the ſame ſtorm ſo much further North? who had his folks to bringe together

from great diſtances over the hills, and when joyned, had thirtie-ſeven miles to marche them to Inverneſs, through that violent ſtorm; when, becauſe of the longe froſt which had ſtopt the mills, there was not one grain of meale in all that countrie. What ground they had to imagine that his Majeſtie would be joyned by great numbers who had never joyn'd before, I can't find out. Thus far I knew, and am ſure, that except the MacCleods, who could not be more helpful to us from the Iſle of Skie than from Madagaſcar, and the Caithneſs folks, who could not joyn becauſe of Southerland if they would, and were at a hundred and fiftie miles diſtance, there was no liveing ſoule to joyn him who had not joyned before; and could it be thought that thoſe who had gone home diſcouraged by all our wants, after ſo many great and ſpecious promiſes, would ever truſt more; not to mention the naturall levitie of thoſe who, if we had wanted nothing, we never could have keept, and knew they had no form of peace to make, but ſit at home; and had their inclinations been as ſtronge then as they generallie profeſs, it was not in their pouer to croſs theſe impracticable hills in ſo great a ſtorm.

But tho' this is own'd ſince, and was true in fact, it was treaſon to ſay ſo at that time, for it would not [have] ſerved his Lordſhip of Mar's end; becauſe he had ground to think, had the King been fullie informed of the irretriveableneſs of his affairs, and the certaine ruine he brought upon his true friends and faithfull ſervants, he'd chooſed to leave them to make their oun peace, rather then run himſelf into eminent danger, onlie to ruine them, and put it out of their pouer ever afterwards to be of uſe to him. Had he done ſo, Mar muſt have gone back to Pearth without him, where, God knous what would have happned to his Lordſhip, his expectation and great promiſes from the ſuccour his Majeſtie was to bringe them being vaniſht into ſmoak, and that to his oun conviction, as well as theirs: If this laſt reſource of the King's preſence, and the miracles it would work, was takne from him, the bauk would be too great; and humane imagination could not frame another lye to amuſe them. Better the King had not come, and they'd ſtill expect him, till they were chaced out of Pearth, and then he'd ſtill had a pretence, with the aſſiſtance that his Majeſtie was to ſend, to ſtand firm in the Highlands; in the mean time

would gain one of his three ſhips, and ſave one. But to allow the King to goe back was to confeſs, in expreſs terms, he had cheated them, and there was no hope left; what the Mutineers had fortold would be remember'd, and death and damnation muſt follow. But if the King was brought up to Pearth, there was a glorious foundation for a great ſcheme; the whole at Pearth would be madd with joy, and their imaginations would of new frame hopes of ſuccours from France, by dropeing ſome hints to them, while a run from the nighbouring Highlands, out of curioſitie to ſee the King, would raiſe his Majeſtie's hopes; and if the others did not come, and things did not anſuer, he had Huntley, Mr Sinclair, and all the Mutineers, to blame for it; not forgeting Seaforth; tho' not of that band, yet he had reſerved him all alonge for that judgement. The King would ſee it was not his fault, and his penſioners, and the whole who ſtaid with him, would fall into the accuſation with him againſt thoſe gentlemen, haveing timelie laid doun that plan to load them with all, in the worſt of events, even tho' the King had not come; and in end, the reſpect all had for the King, when there ſhould be a neceſſitie for his Majeſtie to return to France, would cover his ſhame of deſerting thoſe he had ſo treacherouſlie impoſed upon, when it was ſaid he was admitted into the ſame ſhip, which was equall to ane order; if any found fault with it, they found fault with the King. Theſe were the deciſive reaſons which made Mar carrie the King to Pearth.

No ſooner did Huntley get the certaintie of the arrival then he ſent Doctor Gordon to give his Majeſtie aſſureances of his fidelitie, and a true account of the ſtate of his affairs. About that time a letter came to him from the King, when at Fettereſſo, ordering him to make all heaſt, and did not doubt that, with the help of Seaforth, Southerland would ſoon be made priſoner, with all thoſe that were with him. At ſame time told him, He'd be glade to ſee him after that was done; and inſinuate ſo much that he did not deſire to ſee him till then. This letter came, with a copie of it, wrote in a fair hand by Mar's ſecretarie, incloſed with a letter of Mar's to the ſame purpoſe. As ſoon as Huntley read the letter, he ſaw that the King was abuſed, and true matter of fact keept up from him, and did not doubt but the whole

was as much miſrepreſented to him. Huntlie looſed no time in anſuering thoſe letters; in that to the King he complain'd to his Majeſtie, in a modeſt way, of Mar's injuſtice to him; repreſented things as they reallie were; and told him of the want of pouder, which, if ſent him, he'd doe what he could. His anſuer to Mar was in the ſame ſtrain. Gordon of Glenbucket was ſent with thoſe letters to lay the whole before the King, and to bring pouder. About that time a pleaſant enough ſtorie happned, which did not a little diſturb us: a partie of Southerland's folks had ſtole a marche out of Inverneſs to Forreſs to ſeize a ſhip with corn; and no ſooner they ſeized the ſhip then they ſent ane expreſs of their oun, with a letter, to the Magiſtrats of Elgine, telling them, That a great many red coats were debarking there out of men-of-war, as well as cannon; and they gave out they'd ſoon have that great rebel Huntlie by the neck; that the inhabitants of Forreſs were barbarouſlie uſed by them, but threatned thoſe of Elgine worſe, where they were to quarter that night; and added, that they were a thouſand men. The fellow who brought the letter to Elgine ſuore all was true, and that he had ſeen a great many landed; and, as it generallie happens in confuſions occaſion'd by ſurprize, got away. The Magiſtrats of Elgine ſent a gentleman with all expedition to Huntley, who added ſome circumſtances to it which had been pickt up at Elgine. No wonder if it did not diſturb us a little, but I muſt ſay for Huntlie, he carried as well as any man could doe in ſuch a ſurpriſe. He aſkt me, What I thought? I anſuer'd, ingenuouſlie, If it was true I could think of nothing but mounting my horſe and rideing as far through the ſnow in the hills as I could, and when horſes could goe no further, leave them, and take me to my heels; but if his Lordſhip could tell me any expedient, I'd be glade to doe anything. The tuelve piece of cannon talkt of in the letter made me ſuſpect it a trick, done by ane ignorant hand, for I never heard of ſo manie ſent with a thouſand men; but if found true, the beſt thing he could doe was to pack up his papers and things of value; if he had pouder, he ought to leave a guarniſon in his houſe, which being very open, would not reſiſt longe; and goe to the hills himſelf and raiſe his men. But the ſputter was ſoon over, tho' not before it occaſion'd a good dale of reaſoning. Tho' I was under

the protection of one of the friendlieſt and beſt natur'd men on earth, who did me at leaſt all the honour due to me, yet we had the lyes ſo freſh from Pearth, and the reaſoning of thoſe about him ſo extravagant, that I imagin'd myſelf ſtill there.

I took ane opportunitie to viſite ſome gentlemen of Cullen of Boyn, who were engaged with us, in hopes to be ſome days free of that melancholie ſubject, but I found my caſe the ſame with thoſe who are ſick and toſs in bed, tho' I changed ſituation, I carried my diſtemper with me; the memorie of what I had ſeen ſtuck cloſe to me, and the certaintie of what I forſaw teaſed and tormented me; and the concern for thoſe families who were uſeing me ſo civilie, ſtill added to my pain, ſo that I had no hopes left of recoverie ſo longe as I was in the Countrie, when I could look on no Scots man, woman, or child, but as ane object of compaſſion, which raiſed and fermented my grief; and the more I found them inſenſible, the more I pitied them. "Nam quid miſerius miſero non miſerante ſeipſum?" (Divus Auguſtin. Lib. I. Confess.) This put me on ſpeakeing to my friend Mr Ogilvie about hireing a ſhip and getting out of the Countrie. He was no leſs inclined to it than I; but after a tryell alonge that coaſt we found the difficulties ſo great, betuixt the terrour of the Engliſh men-of-war, the ſhips being laid up and unrigged, and ane imbargo laid on by Mar, who was reſolved none ſhould goe till he had finiſhed his work, that no monie could bribe any to faile. This I mention at large, becauſe in that ten days I was in that corner of the countrie Huntlie ſtruck up his firſt truce with Southerland. When I returned I found he had mett with Lord Ree, Chief of the Mackeys, Beaufort, who called himſelf Lovet, Collonell Monroe of Foulis, and Captain Grant, brother to the Laird of Grant, who all came to meet him at Elgine, in Southerland's name. They had been a night together, and made a fortnight's truce. Huntley's reaſons for makeing that truce were, as he was pleaſed to tell me, that, haveing diſburſt the little monie given him, or he had, in keeping ſome of his men together in caſe he had been attackt by them, or takne in his oun houſe, and haveing expected pouder ſo longe in vain, eſpeciallie when it was otherwiſe impoſſible to attack Inverneſs in ſo great a ſtorm; and, tho' the weather might change, yet he was ſure his truce would be out before

any thing could be done, for the thaw that muſt follow ſo great a ſtorm of ſnow would make it no eaſier; or, if it did, he was more in danger from them than they could be from him, haveing greater numbers, and he ſo unprovided. Beſides, he propoſed no ſmall advantage by it; for the Mackeys deſigned home; and they, as well as moſt of Southerland's men, being heartilie wearied, and their curioſitie ſatiſfied, being of the ſame nature with our Highlandmen, would not be fond of comeing out on the firſt call, or perhaps not come at all, at leaſt could not be back in a fortnight; and if pouder was ſent him, if the ſnow thaw'd he'd attack Inverneſs before the MacKeys and Guns could joyn, who were Southerland's beſt men. Another of his reaſons was, that he had got ane information of Seaforth's haveing made a ceſſation of arms on another foot, and with a very different view; and to leave him no place to doubt, they laid the contracts before him, and gave him copies of them, contracts betuixt Southerland and Seaforth, which he was pleaſed to communicate to me. I don't pretend to give them literallie, but am ſure the ſenſe of them was as follows: "That my Lord Lovet, in Southerland's name, ſhould oblidge himſelf, on honour, to ſend ane expreſs to the Court at London to interceed with his Majeſtie King George to procure a pardon for my Lord Seaforth, and, on the faith of that obligation, till ane anſuer was returned from Court, Seaforth was to commit no hoſtilities againſt Southerland, or any of thoſe joyn'd with him; (which was ſigned) SEAFORTH and LOVET." The other was, "That my Lord Seaforth haveing oblidged himſelf not to commit hoſtilities againſt Southerland and his confederats till the return came from Court, Lovet oblidged himſelf, in name of Southerland and his friends, not to moleſt Seaforth, or invade his territories; (which was again ſigned) SEAFORTH and LOVET." The contracts betuixt thoſe Lords were conceaved in terms as ſhort as theſe, if not the ſame, and in no better ſtile, tho' I am not ignorant enough to have ane opinion of my oun; but one of the parties[1] was no fool, and, I believe, drew them to his own mind, for how otherwiſe could Seaforth goe in to ſo looſe a contract, to leave it in Southerland's pouer never to give him ane anſuer till he could be of no further

[1] Meaning Lovat, doubtleſs, who was certainly no fool, though he had a ſpice of the madman about him, as well as much of the knave.

uſe either to himſelf or the Countrie, by fixeing no limited time; and he was treated accordinglie, for they never ſheu'd him the return of that meſſage till the King had retired from Pearth, when there was no occaſion of dallieing longer with him. What the reſult of it was I ſhall account for in its oun place.

All this while, to palliate what he had done, by what I could learn, he[1] promiſed very fair to the King at Pearth; and to convince him he had no reſerve, and would keep no ſecrets from him, he ſent his Majeſtie a letter which Huntlie had wrote to him in confidence and friendſhip on his comeing North, giveing him the true ſtate of affairs at Pearth when he left it, and laying before him the neceſſitie of capitulating, which, ſince he was in no expectation of the King, he'd ſet on foot ſo ſoon as he could, or ſaw light into it, or any poſſibility of doeing. In the mean time, more letters paſſed betuixt the King and Huntlie, all in the ſame ſtraine with the former. While I was with my friends in Cullen of Boyn, James Fercharſon, Aide-de-Camp to Mar, paſſed Caſtle Gordon in his way to Caithneſs, to endeavour to raiſe the gentlemen of that countie, who, it was believed, were very well affected; he gave it out at the little toun near Gordon Caſtle, to ſeverall of Huntley's ſervants, That one Innes, a depender of Huntley's, who commanded a regiment of his, was to carrie me up priſonner to Pearth; and to thoſe at Elgine, he ſaid I was alreadie takne, which was the eaſilier believed that I was ſome days abſent. On my return I was informed of it; and it had paſſed ſo current, that all about Huntley ſtared at me; and tho' I knew I was in no danger, yet I could not imagine that ſuch a ſcoundrell durſt ventured to take thoſe freedoms of himſelf, or ſay any ſuch thing for his diverſion. But whatever might be in it, in my firſt rage I reſolved it ſhould coſt him dear, and to follow him to Caithneſs over the Murray Frith, and break everie bone of him, and at ſame time put myſelf out of everie bodies reverence by throwing myſelf on the Sinclairs,[2] the onlie Clan of that countrie; but, on ſecond thoughts, the old reaſon occurred for not goeing there, ſince I muſt be oblidged to tell them the

[1] The Earl of Seaforth.

[2] There is a powerful Clan of Sinclairs in Caithness, the Chief of whom (such I suppose him) takes the title of Earl, from that county.

whole; and as I would not be acceſſarie to raiſe them, which I knew muſt be the certaine ruine of my kinſmen; on the other hand, I thought it needleſs to draw more reflections on me for ſtoping them, when it was liklie they were not altogether ſuch fools, eſpeciallie when Southerland could put ſo great obſtructions in their way, and that people don't incline to riſe but when they have ſome ſhaddow of greater vieus of ſucceſs as theſe to flatter their hopes. The ſtorie Fercharſon had ſpread came to Huntley's ears, and a day or tuo after I had returned, he aſkt me if I had heard of it; and not being able to contain my paſſion, and keep my ſecond reſolution, which was to ſay nothing, or ſeem to know nothing, till the fellow had returned, and treat him as he deſerved, I told his Lordſhip I had heard of it, and had reſolved to regale that gentleman with a ſound banging on his comeing back, and ſend him up to Mar with the mark of my cudgell on his ſhoulders; and wiſh, for the fellow's ſake, that my anger might not carrie me further, for one who forſaw he was to leave the Countrie was not to be irritated; and I ſhould not now regrate my haveing ſacrifiſed him for an exemple. He intreated me not to think of it, for I was to look on that fellow as not ſent from Mar, but as one who had the King's commiſſion, and imployed in his ſervice; and the blame would fall on him if any thing happned in his ground. I ſaid, I ſhould not inform myſelf whoſe commiſſion he had, nor did I ſee how he could hinder a man from doeing himſelf juſtice in his ground. I was to have no regarde to a fellow who had looſed his reſpect to me; but to pleaſe him, I'd not touch him till he had paſſed Strabogie in his return.

Gordon of Glenbucket was not longe of comeing back, who told Huntlie how much he was blamed at Pearth, and that everie bodie was crying out againſt him in a ſtrange manner, and ſaid the King was the onlie modeſt man there, and hearkned to reaſon; but ſaid nothing of Mar, not being willing to widen breaches; and haveing obligations to Mar as well as to his maſter, Huntlie, he acted the diſcreet part, tho' he told him enough to let him know what opinion the ignorant world there had of him, and that it was labour loſt to pretend to undeceave them. He likwiſe brought him letters from the King and Mar, which were to the ſame purpoſe with their former, without anie variation. He confirmed the account of Gene-

rall Hamilton's goeing to France, and ſaid, It was given out he was ſent with a letter to the Regent. But the true matter of fact was, he was ſent away ſo ſoon as the King came, for fear he ſhould [have] given him a juſt and true account of his affairs, haveing of late turn'd more uneaſie; and the reaſon that was given the King for it was, that the Highlandmen could not endure him, which Mar had labour'd, ever after the battell, to keep him at under; and I believe it was for that reaſon likwiſe that it was ſpread underhand, a little before he went off, that he was betraying their councills to the Duke of Argyle, that it might be ripe to trump up againſt him the moment he diſcover'd the truth to the King; which he forſaw, and has ſince told, and was glade to get away at any rate; otherwiſe, how is it poſſible he could alloued himſelf to be made uſe of as a letter-bearer, where there were ſo many uſeleſs people to be imploy'd that way, and he of ſo great conſequence?

I know General Ecline, who had come from France a month before the King, imagin'd that Mar had much the ſame reaſon for ſending him North to Huntlie, after the King's arrivall; for, haveing been impertinent enough to aſk into the detaile of the armie, which was never alloued him, notwithſtanding of his repeated orders to the Majors of Brigade; at laſt, threatening to clap them in arreſt, ſo ſoon as Mar went out of Pearth to meet the King at Fettereſſo, when the entire command was left to him, theſe good men, by order, gave him a return of four thouſand five hundred foot, when there was not above one thouſand, if there were ſo many. The ſuſpicion of that, and other neglects he met with, made him uneaſie; and, finding himſelf intirelie uſeleſs, deſigned, three or four days after the King's comeing to Scone, to aſk leave of the King to return to France; which I have heard from himſelf. Whither Mar had ſmoakt this, he did not know; but I believe Mar had, for his ſpies were at that time narrow obſervers of the leaſt geſture. But he ſaid, that morning he was to ſpeak to the King about his returning to France his Majeſtie told him, That he muſt goe North, and take the command of Huntley's following at the takeing of Inverneſs. The honeſt gentleman, who, as well as the King, believed he might be of uſe there, was very fond of any commiſſion to ſerve the King and the cauſe, not doubting that all

was as his Lordſhip of Mar repreſented it, as well as all the bravos at Pearth; and that there was nothing wanting but to infuſe a little ſpirit in my Lord Huntlie, and have a watchfull eye over Mr Sinclair, who, as he confeſſed to myſelf, was painted to him a very ill man: and no wonder, for it's as impoſſible to reconcile light and darkneſs as his Lordſhip and I, ſince lying and truth are ſo diametricallie oppoſite. Fraughted with the good hopes of ſucceſs, ſince there was nothing wanting, and onlie a mob to encounter, when Huntley's were brave fellows, the old gentleman came joggeing North through the ſnow in the time the ſtorm was rudeſt, and at laſt, with paine enough, arrived at Caſtle Gordon, where he deliver'd the King and Mar's letters to Huntlie; which, to avoide repetition, were the ſame old ſonge over again. He ſheu'd his Lordſhip ane order from the King, and ſigned by him, to ſend me up priſonner to Pearth, in caſe I would not goe up willinglie to my command. He was not longe of perceaving that no force was to be uſed, and as to my goeing to my command, that I'd rather be hanged then obey his Lordſhip of Mar in any one thing, after what I had ſeen of him, ſo he'd doe as well and not mention it to me; nor did Huntlie ever ſpeak of it.

He had another order to ſeiſe Sir Robert Gordon, and ſend him up alonge with me; for no bodie was to doubt of his treaſon, and being ſent together would confirm the world of mine. With Generall Eckline the King ſent tuo Aide-de-Camps, the one Cameron, youngeſt brother to Lochiell, and another, Gage, ane Engliſhman. Mar did not think them enough, and order'd his friend Aphoſke[1] alonge with him; a through-paced toole of his, and, as Huntlie thought, ſent alonge to be a ſpie upon him, to give a wronge turn to everie thing he ſaid or did, and write up lyes to Pearth, that his Majeſtie might be convinced of the truth of what Mar ſaid; for that was his way of ſupporting his lyes: ſo he was diſmiſſed, to haſtne the cannons comeing up by ſea from Aberdeen, which were alreadie at ſea, and on ſome other ſham pretexts he order'd to ſtay at Aberdeen. Huntlie looſed no time in informing Generall Eckline of the impoſſibilities of attacking Inverneſs for want of pouder; which was no ſmall ſurpriſe to him, but more ſtill when he heard that Southerland could bringe together tuo thou-

[1] Perhaps Burnet of Fasque, in Kincardineshire.

ſand five hundred men for the defence of Inverneſs, and thoſe well armed; and before he could get his men together, and marche there, who were not ſeven hundred foot, for want of armes, and one hundred and ſixtie horſe. He aſkt Huntley, If he had informed the King of it? who ſheu'd him copies of the letters he had wrote and the anſuers. Eckline voued he had been told that affairs were on a very different foot from what he demonſtrated to him; which evidentlie ſheus that Mar had brought the King to believe that all Huntley had wrote to him was falſe, and onlie a pretext for betraying him, as he publiclie gave out on all occaſions; but on the other hand encouraged his Majeſtie that Eckline would drag him into it.

After this, the firſt thing thought of was, that Huntlie and Eckline together ſhould write to the King and Mar, to expoſtulate with them to ſend him pouder; and all that was aſked, in caſe there happned not to be much at Pearth, was tuo hundred pounds; they told them of Huntley's haveing tuo pieces of braſs cannon mounted, and that carriadges were readie for the cannon that were come half-way betuixt that and Aberdeen; that Huntley had raked together all the ruſtie arms that could be got in the countrie about, both from friend and foe, and had gunſmiths at work dreſſing them, and when he had done his beſt, could pretend to arme no more then ſeven hundred, ſince his men had thrown away moſt of their arms at Shirrif Moor;[1] but ſince he had one hundred and ſixtie horſe, or a number near to that, which would be a terrour to Southerland's Highlandmen, tho' he had tuo thouſand five hundred men armed by the Gouvernment, which could joyn at Inverneſs before they could goe there, they'd doe their beſt, if pouder were ſent them from Pearth, to diſlodge Southerland; for they had difficulties enough to encounter without that want. No notice was takne of this more then of the former, but in anſuer, a freſh order, commanding them to marche to Inverneſs with the foot; at ſame time order'd them to ſend up the horſe to Pearth. On this Huntlie, as well as Eckline, were mightilie diſpleaſed, and ſent Cameron, Eckline's Aide-de-Camp, with all expedition, with letters repeating what they had ſaid before, and gave the King and Mar a liſt of thoſe Clans againſt them, which was as follows: Earle Southerland had 800 of his vaſſalls; Grant, 700;

[1] A bad account of the Gordons gay.

Frazers, 500; Roſſes and Munroes, 200; Mackeys, 300;—in all 2500; who could be in no want of arms, ſince men-of-war had been goeing back and fore, and one was then lying within cannon-ſhot of the toun, and afforded them gunnèrs, pouder and ball for fourteen piece of cannon, which they had mounted; that the Gouvernment had been ſo provident they had ſent them mattocks and ſhovells. They inſiſted, that if the horſe were takne from them they could not be ſafe at Caſtle Gordon, much leſs attack Inverneſs; and Huntlie took occaſion to beg of his Majeſtie, ſince no regarde was had to his frequent letters, to allow him to joyn him at Pearth with all his followinq, or allow him to waite of his Majeſtie without his followinq, which he would reſigne willinglie to any of thoſe able Generalls about him, who made that buſieneſs appear ſo eaſie.

But before this meſſage was ſent by Cameron, my Lord Duffus arrived, who had ſet out from Pearth before Eckline, and, as it's uſuall to ſea captains, liked a ſafe harbour and a boule of punch better than beating the maine in a ſtorm; and, like himſelf, without thinking of the buſſieneſs he was goeing about, providentlie took in quadruple, or rather more, proviſions of punch (in caſe of accidents,) to carrie him to the next alehouſe or toun, where he never failed to be ſeverall days of carineing, till a niep tide, which was want of liquor, or want of credite, oblidged him to weigh anchor and ſet ſaile for another porte, where credite was freſh or liquor abounding. And by this means he was ten days or more on the road then Eckline, with, I think, tuo aide-de-camps and a ſecretarie order'd to waite of him by Mar, and himſelf mounted on a galloway of thirtie ſhillings price; tho' it will be found he had got more monie from the countrie then might afford drink aboundance, and bought a very good equipage: but that, and a great dale more, could not quench his drouth; but I muſt ſay for his nagg, tho' he did not promiſe much, when diſpatch was his maſter's buſſieneſs, few horſes of value run harder, and, except Seaforth's war-horſe, none could keep up with him that day of the ſkirmiſh at Sherrif Moor, and was the firſt at Pearth. "Haud aliter Nabathæa petens Semeleïæ proles." Duffus brought with him letters to Huntlie ſet to the ſame tune, and one from my good Lord Mar to me, ordering me, in the King's name, to goe

to Pearth. After ſome diſcourſe with Huntley, I ſuppoſe telling him what orders he had about takeing me priſonner and Sir Robert Gordon, and ſhewing him the King's written order for it, being ane affair of ſo great conſequence, it was to be reiterated, in caſe one order had not done it. He carried me alonge with him to the village near Caſtle Gordon, where, after makeing the punſh, without which nothing was to be done, he took me aſide, and gave me this letter:

Sir,—His Majeſtie haveing reſolved that all who have been in his armie ſhould forthwith repair to their reſpective poſts in it, he has order'd me to ſignifie to you, that, it is His pleaſure you come immediatelie up to the armie at Pearth, or where it ſhall happen to be for the time, without any delay. Your punctuall obſervance hereof is expected. And I am,

Sir,

Your moſt obedient and moſt humble ſervant,

Mar.

After reading the letter, Duffus told me, with a poſitive air, he wanted ane anſuer of it to-morrow. I anſuer'd him ſhort, that what anſuer I had to make I'd give it to Mar myſelf with the firſt who went to Pearth; and his Lordſhip of Duffus never required more. I ſuſpected there was more under it, but was more confirmed when Huntley ſent tuo of his principall ſervants, one after other, telling me to be on my guard; which ſometimes made me think that Duffus deſigned to quarrell with me, tho' I could not perſuade myſelf that any could propoſe to himſelf to have ane advantage and did not expect to run half of the riſk. When I ſaw my Lord Huntlie I aſkt him the reaſon of theſe tuo meſſages. He ſaid, knowing the freedom I uſed to take in telling my mind, he was afraid a quarrell might happen; he did not know what I had to doe with thoſe people, who he lookt on as mad, and would not faile to take a great dale upon them, becauſe of Mar's countenance, ſupported by the King, but did not ſpeake one word of the commiſſion to make me priſonner; told of Duffus haveing brought ane order from Mar to receave ſome hundred pounds of the ceſs of Murray, which his Lordſhip ſaid, he'd find a better uſe for, if he marched to

Inverneſs, then allow him to receave any of it to be converted into drink, and that he ſhould have none of it. All this while Huntley and Eckline were projecting how to make Seaforth and his following uſefull at the enterprize of Inverneſs; for, by all that Huntley could learn from Sir John Mackenzie, the poor man who had been Gouvernour there, and had deliver'd it up, and had been at Pearth excuſeing it, and, in his return North, waited of Huntlie, who interrogated him about the ſituation of the toun. Both he and I found that Seaforth could be of no uſe to us at the attack of that toun, ſince Sir John, who was the onlie man of that Clan who pretended to be a ſojer, aſſured, that they muſt attack on their ſide a longe narrow bridge, with a gate upon it, upon which the ennemie might raiſe ſeverall traverſes, and force them to buy everie foot of it very dear; and, at ſame time, was flanked by houſes on both ſides, and both the outlets and entrie of the bridge flankt by the cannon of the caſtle, which was very near to it; and if ſo, as Sir John repreſented, it was to be believed they were to expect no ſuccours from Seaforth, who could be repulſed by a very few men poſted there, if ever he brought his Clan to attack there; which is too liklie he never could.

Houever they were very glade that Duffus was come, who pretended to know all, and made it very eaſie. After diſcourſeing with him about it, they determined, Generall Eckline ſhould paſs the Murray Frith, and goe to Seaforth, for nothing leſs could doe, ſince Huntley had ſent tuice to him, without any return, but in generall terms, and ſpeakeing big, but could never fix him; nor would he keep up the correſpondence, tho' Huntley, in one of his letters, begged of him that the Catholicks, who ought to be the King's beſt ſubjects, might not be out-done by the others in loyalltie, and that they might not give any juſt ground of imputeing miſcarriadges to them. Eckline had got on his boots, and his horſes ſaddled to goe, when the reſolution was changed, to which I contributed; and it was thought that Duffus, who was his couzin, and the man who gave himſelf the airs of bringing out Seaforth at firſt,[1] was, of all men, the fitteſt to bring him to this again; beſides, Eckline being intirelie a ſtranger, and neither knowing him, nor any of the miniſters or favourites about that

[1] His wife, Lady Margaret Mackenzie, was Seaforth's aunt.

Court, nor being able to anſuer the objections they'd make about the ſituation of Inverneſs, it was not to be thought he could doe any good with him.

Duffus undertook all willinglie enough in appearance, I believe, in hopes Huntlie would order him ſome of the ceſs of Murray, for he was in ſo great want that he oued in the alehouſes about; but made the King the compliment, tho' he had come there about other buſineſs, which was to pay Thundeſton ſixteen thouſand pound for a mortgage he had on his father's eſtate, ſince the King's ſervice required, he'd goe. But the ſtreſs of all being laid upon himſelf, he begun to find a difficultie in attacking the place of that ſide; beſides another difficultie ſuggeſted by Eckline and me, and which I told my Lord Huntlie all alonge, and that was, the impoſſibilitie of concerting matters ſo, at ſuch a great diſtance, that Seaforth might not be there before Huntlie: and if he was, haveing but a thouſand men not half armed, (for his men had loſt their arms at the battle,) and who were never much eſteem'd for warriers, nor haveing any amongſt them who ever bore the name of ane officer, Southerland would route them; and if he came too late, the buſſineſs would be over of our ſide; and, being conſiderablie weaker in number, it was to be feared not to our advantage, and Seaforth would be of no uſe to us. For, by the deſcription then given of Inverneſs, as far as I remember, it's ſituated on a river, unfourdable above that toun, which comes out of lakes, of vaſt length and depth, onlie three miles above the toun, and diſcharges itſelf at once into a large lake or arme of the ſea, which is ſtraitned by two promontories four or five miles below Inverneſs, one of which is named Ardreſire, and gives the name to a ferrie or paſſage of tuo miles breadth; and all paſſages being guarded, there was no correſpondence but over the Murray Frith, from the Brough, or that coaſt, which, for what I know, is tuentie miles broad. For that reaſon I propoſed that Duffus, who was the man of the world who muſt know that coaſt beſt, his father's eſtate haveing been all alonge the one ſide, and the Brough that could afford moſt boats, formerlie his father's, and, as I had heard him ſay, he haveing been often on the other ſide ſeeing his relations of my Lord Seaforth's familie, beſides haveing had occaſion of knowing both coaſts, ſince he was captain of a man-of-war, and

had been there, he could not faile to gueſs near what number of boats could be got alonge the whole coaſt, to bring over Seaforth and his men to our ſide, and the beſt ports for imbarking and debarking, as well as the beſt method to put the whole in execution, from the advantages he had, ſince otherwiſe, it was demonſtrable, Seaforth could be of no uſe. Duffus, not being preſent then, was ſpoke to by Huntlie and Eckline, and made no great difficultie of all this, and was ſent off with great expedition, promiſeing himſelf ſucceſs; and, to ſatiffie them, was to ſend them ane anſuer very ſoon, that all might be readie againſt the time that the pouder came from Pearth. This propoſall of mine was oueing intirlie to my being privie to Mar's expedition of ſending over Mackintoſh, and to the whole concert, otherwiſe I had never dream'd of it.

When the fortnight's ceſſation was nere out, Huntley reneu'd it for eight days longer, tho' Southerland deſired it might be made for another fortnight, which Huntlie refuſ'd, in expectation pouder would be ſent, and things brought to bear againſt that time. Duffus, inſtead of goeing where he was ſo earneſtlie deſired, and had promiſed to ſtop no where, ſtay'd a day and a night longer in ane alehouſe, within piſtoll ſhot of Caſtle Gordon; where, after endeavouring to deboatch ſeveralls of Huntlie's horſe to give their words to engage with him, he went ſix miles further, to Elgine of Murray, where he, by the help of ſome of his drunken companions, flatter'd himſelf he'd detache a whole troop from Huntley, called the Elgine troop; and, as if he had nothing to doe, ſtay'd there idleing away his time, and following his ſotting humour, and in his whole diſcourſe leſſning and reflecting on Huntlie; and no man but one, who had ſo much good nature, and ſo great reſpect for everie thing that pretended to bear the King's commiſſion, could have bore it, eſpeciallie being told of it. I doe own, without the leaſt reſpect to his peerage, I'd taught him civillitie, by laying him in ſtocks, and teacheing him to drink water without brandie,[1] had I had Huntley's pouer; and if that had not ſatiffied

[1] The author certainly misrepresents Lord Duffus, who, upon several occasions, manifested a courage more undoubted than perhaps his own. In an engagement at sea he defended his frigate against eight French vessels, until he had received eight balls in his body.

him, ſo ſoon as he got his feet looſe he ſhould have had all the reparation he could aſk, which I'm apt to believe would have been ane ancre of brandy, or ſome ſuch thing.

This ſtay he made in Elgine gave us occaſion to think better; and by what could be judged of Seaforth's humour, who ſeem'd to be led by his mother, and had nobodie about him to adviſe him, that if Duffus could prevaile with him to get onlie five hundred of his men, who were beſt armed, to paſs the Murray Frith, and joyn Huntlie, it would be enough; the leſs the demand the eaſier granted, as well as the eaſier executed; and that he might doe it in ſuch a way as to perſuade his Lordſhip and his mother that it was proper for the King's ſervice he ſhould ſtay at home, and, with the reſt of his men, take care of the countrie about; all which would be the ſooner yeelded to, that his life, being her onlie ſon, was not to be in danger, and his honour covered; and Duffus would be more anxious about it, becauſe it gave him a command. I was ſent to him to haſten him away, and to communicate to him this reform of the firſt ſcheme. I found his Lordſhip drinking brandie in the morning with his Aide-de-Camps, and ſome little people of the toun; he ſeemed pleaſed with what I told him, and ſaid he was to ſet out in ane hour; went to take his leave of ſeveralls in toun, took a morning draught with each of them before he mounted his horſe to goe to the Brough, whence he was to take boat to goe to Seaforth.

While he was takeing his leave in toun, one of his Aide-de-Camps, called Murray, a Caithneſs man, with whome I was acquainted, told me, That Lord Duffus was goeing to Caithneſs to raiſe thoſe of that countrie; and that he had been there ere now, but he had a jealouſie of my following him at the heels; that Duffus had undertakne a great deale to Mar, to raiſe thoſe of Orkney as well as Caithneſs, which he did not believe he could perform; and that Mar had order'd him to goe alonge, being of that countrie, tho' he was not fond of that errand. I told him, I wiſht we had witt enough to put thoſe who were allreadie dipt to the beſt uſe; I did not think it a proper time to dip more: But I did not know theſe gentlemen if they took any notice of Duffus, haveing better men amongſt themſelves then his Lordſhip; for when he returned from

thence before, he did not brag much of the honours done him; none of them takeing notice of him. Murray ſaid, He truſted now to the King's letter ſent to them by Fercharſon, Mar's Aide-de-Camp, together with the commiſſion of a Brigadeer given to him of late; tho' his opinion was, whatever they did, they'd not receave him; that they'd rather chooſe one of themſelves; and the King had forſeen it, when he told them in his letter, they ſhould choiſe their oun leader. In the mean time [Fercharſon, who] came in to the houſe, keept himſelf private till Duffus was called to him, and after conſulting with him for half-ane-hour, came out, and told us the ſucceſs of his negotiation, in a publick room, where by that time a great many were met to hear the neus; which, as uſuall, Mr Fercharſon made very great; told of a hundred horſe being allreadie lifted, and fifteen hundred foot; that Orkney would bring out many more; in a word, that there was a conſiderable armie on foot in thoſe tuo counties; and not one word of the whole true. He told likwiſe of the King's being proclaim'd at Wyck, in Caithneſs; which was matter of fact; but nobodie appear'd there but himſelf, with the mob. I ſtood by, all the while mightie impatient to ſpeak to Mr Fercharſon; for I had heard confirmation of his proclaimeing at Aberdeen, and everie where on his road northward, that I was to be ſent up priſonner. I took him in to the next room, and Duffus folloued. The moment I ſpoke to him he turned pale, and fell of trembleing, and ſuore he never had ſaid or dream'd ſuch a thing. Upon ſeeing this poor wretch's fear, my anger turned to compaſſion, and told him, It was happie for him he ſaid ſo, and that I had met him in a toun, for had I met him on the road he'd not got the time to clear himſelf, which, in my opinion, he did but badlie; and whatever libertie others might take, I'd not allow ſuch a little fellow as he to looſe his reſpect to me, and that he was to bliſs his ſtars that ſuch a villanous lye did not coſt him his life; bid him tell Mar, his maſter, that, by God, I was not to be treated ſo, and that I'd take the firſt opportunitie of letting him feel it. To which Major Fercharſon, for he had got that title, anſuer'd moſt humblie, That he would not carrie ſuch a commiſſion. We came out of the room together, and I told the whole companie I had forgiven Fercharſon moſt graciouſlie, ſince he thought fit to forſuear all.

Fercharſon made what haſte he could back to Mar, and I return'd to Caſtle Gordon, after delivering a commiſſion to the Magiſtrats of Elgine about makeing wool ſacks to carrie to Inverneſs. I aſſured Huntlie that Duffus was gone at laſt, and that I had ſeen him on horſeback, and that he had promiſed to goe to Seaforth; but that I had learned enough from Murray to make me doubt of it, ſince his great deſigne was to make a figure by raiſeing Caithneſs and Orkney, and had made a ſtandard at Elgine. Huntley ſaid, It was very liklie; and that was the reaſon he was ſo anxious about my goeing to Pearth; but, by a letter he had got from that countrie, which Fercharſon brought him, he could not find they had any thoughts of Duffus, and he'd perform no better then he had done before, and as he had done in his undertakeing to bring of[f] the Guns and Southerlands from his Chief, the Earle of Southerland, and of late Huntley's oun horſe from himſelf. I began to remember that ſome friends had told me of Duffus his being inquiſitive about my goeing to Pearth, and wonder'd what anſuer I made to Mar's letter. A day after, Duffus returned to Caſtle Gordon, to everie bodie's ſurpriſe; told, he had diſcover'd, by Mr Gordon of Clunie, that I was deſigned for Caithneſs, and inſiſted that I ſhould be ſent up priſonner. Huntlie keept up this from me, and told Eckline; and, for their ſatiſfaction, ſent for Clunie, who told them, He neither had heard or ſaid ſo. Duffus went back to Elgine, as if he had been to goe to Seaforth, and aſkt Huntlie again to allow him, on Mar's order, to take up the ceſs of Elgine, (for that was a very materiall point to him,) which Huntlie was poſitive he ſhould not doe. Eckline did not know what to make of this procedure; and, indeed, no man who was a ſtranger to that noble Lord but muſt been puzzled. We all thought he might have ſuſpended the payment of the ſixteen thouſand pound for one month, till he ſaw further about him, without robbeing the countrie, when monie was ſo much wanted. Huntlie ſaid, He knew Duffus to be a lyer all his life, but did not think that he, or any man, could act ſo poorlie, and ſuch a diſingenuous part in that criticall juncture; for no man, who had ever heard of him, could give credite to his having any money, or ſo great a ſume. In the mean time he had ſent his ſecretarie, David Anderſon, a little raſcallie clerck, who he had pickt up at Pearth, becauſe he uſed

to doe buſſieneſs for the Caithneſs gentlemen, and his Aide-de-Camp, Mr Murray, to pave the way for him in that countrie; and one Pitcairn, to Orkney, to carrie his fame there; and ſtaid himſelf in Elgine, either for want of monie, or that he was afraid to goe, out of fear of my following him. We found out his reaſon for not goeing to Seafort by a ſervant of Huntley's, who was ſent there, That Seafort had been informed he had attributed to himſelf the honour of bringing him out, and valued himſelf on it; and ſaid, over his cups at Pearth, That Seaforth was not old Earle Kenneth; as if nothing was to be expected of him: that the principall gentlemen of that Clan could not endure him for takeing ſo much upon him when with them, tho' they found him as ignorant as themſelves; but what rancour'd them moſt was, that being with them at Sherrif Moor, and makeing volteface from the head of Applecroſs regiment, before that regiment did, which ſeveralls offer to atteſt, and particularlie their Major; yet he thought a man of his worth muſt make ſome extraordinarie excuſe for himſelf, by throwing it on the whole Clan; and for haveing done [ſo], durſt as well put his head in a fire as goe near them. What I ſhall ſay of him is, That if all had been true which he ſaid, and all performed which he promiſed, he had indeed been a very conſiderable man, ſince Seaforth's engageing muſt have been oweing to him; and he would neither allow it in the beginning or the end to be doubted of that he could bringe over all the Guns and Southerlands from his Chief, my Lord Southerland: Then the Sinclairs of Caithneſs, by his way of ſpeakeing, were devoted to him, tho' all the tye betuixt him and them is founded on a great freedom and familiaritie ſome of them have with his ſiſters, and had I had the honour of their acquaintance, his Lordſhip might have laid the ſame claime to me: A great many of Huntlie's people were to be at his beck; and the Orkney gentlemen would have no other but he, becauſe he had pickt up ane Orkney man to be his Aide-de-Camp. I am ſure theſe are all the reaſons he could give; except his haveing not one friend in all thoſe places who would lend him five pound, and tuo brothers, much more ſcandalous perſons then himſelf. I can't think theſe, with his oun conduct, were preſumptions ſtronge enough to give the leaſt hopes of his doeing ſo great matters. But the caſe was plaine; Mar did not believe it himſelf, onlie methods were

to be fallen on to amuſe the King with great expectations, and this was the greateſt. The aptneſs of the choiſe of the handle makes it evident on what it was grounded; if, to crown all, Mar had not another reaſon, which is known to my Lady Duffus, I won't ſay knoun to my Lord; in the mean time his Lordſhip was fond of any pretext of deſerveing drink-monie. This may ſeem too mean a detaile, but ther's no conceaveing a juſt notion of that affair without knowing upon what hinges all hung, and by what ſprings it was moved.

We were revived, from time to time, with vaſt numbers of the Suiſſe deſerting to Pearth; with neus of Mar's haveing intelligence from numbers of the Officers of the ennemie's armie, who were to come over on his call: and Eckline averred, as well as Duffus, and all who came North, that the Duke of Athole was to joyn, and that Dentrune, who call'd himſelf Viſcount of Dundee, was order'd, before they left Pearth, to meet him with a hundred horſe. When Rob Roi Macgregore ſurpriſed ſome of the Suiſſe, near Balgonie in Fife, it was made a victorie; as was the loſs of ſome of our oun men, who were ſent there for coals, when intercepted by a partie from Bruntiſland Caſtle, which place Mar had evacuated to let the ennemie ſeiſe it, to give the Suiſſe ane opportunitie of being nearer, that they might deſert to us; which, it was ſaid, they could not doe over Stirling Bridge; which all paſſed for good coine, tho' it was certaine it was done before the King came, with a view to retreat upon the firſt mouvement the ennemie made towards Pearth. We heard likwiſe of Lord Tinmouth[1] and Sir John Areſkine's arrivall from France, with great ſoumes of monie; which we did not hear was loſt, tho' it was told us the ſhip was ſtranded by the fault of the laſt. Whether there was monie or not I don't pretend to determine, amongſt ſo manie falſe reports. We were alſo told that horſe furniture, and many other things, were loſt in the ſame ſhip. On the back of that another ſhip arrived at Aberdeen with ſortie Iriſh Officers and ſervants, from France, and were folloued by another which had the like number, and landed about Montroſs; but, before they could inform us, from Pearth, of armes and pouder being come in them ſhips, for the ſource of lyes was there, we were told that

[1] Son of the Duke of Berwick.

thoſe Officers were moſt of them gentlemen from about St Germains, and no greater warriors than our oun; and gave out they had not one grain of pouder alonge with them, and no armes but what each brought for himſelf. All this onlie ſerved to confirm me more and more of the ruine of my Countrie; and haveing been ſo longe certain of that event, I begun to accuſe myſelf of ane unpardonable weakneſs in not informing my friends in Caithneſs to take care of themſelves. Haveing had too clear demonſtration that the ſame impoſitions were put upon the King which had been put upon us from the beginning, and being fullie aſſured of it, I'd aſkt the moſt outrageous loyaliſt, who has common ſenſe, (for the others I don't much regarde, tho' their number be great,) Whether he could look on coolie and ſee the intire ruine of ſo many gentlemen who were come of his familie, not to ſay friends and countriemen, when it depended of him to put a ſtop to it, and when their perdition, and poſterities, could contribute onlie to palliate a lye which Mar made to the King, in promiſeing great ſuccours from that corner, when it could not advantage his Majeſtie or the common cauſe, except it be made out, that the blood or eſtates of ſo many more martyrs were neceſſarie? I ſhall allow the caſe to be ſtated as Mar pleaſes; and am certain neither loyaliſt nor caſuiſt can give me abſolution of ſuch a crime, contrarie to all the laus of nature and Chriſtianitie. The greateſt barbarien on earth may judge of it at the firſt glance, and ſo muſt everie man who is not armed with rage, which he miſtakes for zeale, or a counſellour like my Lord Mar, who can tell a King, and eſtabliſh it as a principell amongſt miſlead people, that

> Sanctitas, pietas, fides,
> Privata bona sunt: qua juvat, Reges eant.
> (Seneca in Thyeste.)

Sure never man made uſe of ſo helliſh a politick as Mar did on this occaſion; and all he had done was not ſo barefaced wickedneſs as this.

As Huntlie and Eckline grew very impatient on Cameron's not returning, they propoſed to me to ſend one Sinclair, a friend of mine, to Pearth, if I'd undertake for his ſpeedie returning. I ſaid, If they did not take him priſonner, I'd promiſe for his being expeditious. Accordinglie

letters were ſent to the King and my Lord Mar, complaineing of no notice being takne of what they had ſo often wrote to them, and retarding Cameron, who they had ſent. He had not gone tuo days' journey when the Grants had ſpread through the countrie that our folks were all drove out of Pearth; ſo good was their intelligence from Stirling, that they nam'd the day of the Duke of Argyle's marche. I had no difficultie to believe it, for the thaw had continued ſome days, which was the term I had ſet to them from the beginning, and the ſnow, as I learned afterwards, had begun to melt ſooner with us than at Pearth, and ſaid, If they were not drove out then, it would ſoon happen; and ſome feu days, ſooner or later, would make no odds. Next there came a running footman of my Lord Cromartie's, who was overtakne in his way North by a gentleman, who he named, who confirmed the ſame neus.[1] This made no impreſſion on anie bodie but myſelf, for all were willing to perſuade themſelves it was impoſſible, by a longe courſe of ſpeakeing, and thinking it ſo; and if at any time they had doubts, they ſoon chockt them, to make themſelves eaſie to themſelves, and the more acceptable to others; for all agreed in that. We heard no more but flying reports till David Sinclair came back. He met a parte of our armie nere to Montroſs, and being informed the King was allreadie there, it being earlie in the morning went firſt to Mar, to whome he deliver'd his letters from Huntlie and Eckline. Mar aſkt him, If he had anie for the King? He ſaid, He had. Mar deſired him to lay them doun on his table, being in bed; which he refuſed, telling him he'd deliver them to his Majeſtie himſelf. Mar called one Steuart, his valet-de-chamber, who he order'd to waite of him, under pretext of his being a ſtranger in the place, but in reallitie to make him a ſorte of priſonner, either to give the world a jealouſie of him, becauſe of the place he came from, or that he fear'd his returning to inform Huntlie what he had ſeen. He deliver'd his letters to the King, who aſkt him earneſtlie, at his firſt comeing in, What is my Lord Huntlie doeing; and won't he marche to Inverneſs? He anſuer'd, The letter would ſhew his Majeſtie. He was led about like

[1] The Duke of Argyle began his march on 29th January, and Mar evacuated Perth, marching across the Tay, over the ice, on the 31st.

a priſonner all that day, under the care of one or other Iriſh Officer there, and, tho' he preſſed to return, was keept, without any anſuer given him. In the evening he was called to the King, who aſkt him again, What Huntley was doeing? and ſpoke it with emotion. Mar gave him a packet of letters, ſome minutes after, in the next room; and called him back from the door, took the packet from him, and gave him poſitive orders to follow Generall Cook north, and take his orders from him, to whome he was to give the letters, ſince he was to goe that way. He was keept all that night and a part of the next day. He had heard one Forreſter, who commanded the ſhip the King went away in,[1] ſay he was to ſaile that night, and that a man of diſtinction was to goe with him. He aſkt, with ſimplicitie, Who it was? Forreſter ſaid, It was of no conſequence to him to know. All this while everie bodie's diſcourſe was raileing at Huntlie; admireing that Eckline did not ſmoake Southerland out of Inverneſs with ſtraw, which Mr Cook threatned to doe; and moſt ſpoke of me as the guiltieſt perſon of the whole concern'd; and, tho' a priſonner, the Highlandmen juſtled him on the ſtreets, and pointed at him as they'd been willing to eat him.

That afternoon, Generall Cook left Montroſs, and he [David Sinclair] alonge with him, with thirtie Iriſh Officers, or Iriſh gentlemen, come from St Germains, for there were not manie Officers amongſt them. He pretended he was to goe to my Lord Huntley; he went alonge with them till they had paſſed Aberdeen, and finding them take the wronge road, ſaid, It was not the way to Huntley. Ogilvie of Boyn, who was there with them, ſaid, They were to goe the coaſtway. He anſuer'd, It was fourtie miles out of their way, and would goe no further with them; he thought it hard they would not allow my Lord Huntlie, and thoſe with him, to know what had paſſed. When Cook found him opiniatre, he took a letter out of his pocket, and bid him give it to Huntlie, and tell him, He'd be with him in three or four days, and deliver to him, with his oun hand, the King and Mar's packet. He brought us the firſt certain neus of our armie's retreat from Pearth; for all we had heard was but a flying report; and tho' I had longe been certain of it, did not expect it ſo very ſoon, there

[1] A small vessel, of about ninety tons, called the Maria Theresa, of Saint Maloes.

being ſtill ſo much ſnow on the ground, which even then I imagin'd might render'd the ennemie's marche impracticable. Mr Cook, in his letter to Huntlie, aſſured him he would be with him in three days with the King's letters and inſtructions, and begged of him, in the mean time, to get his men together, and have all in readineſs, that he and the officers with him might have the honour of ſerveing under his Lordſhip at the reduction of Inverneſs.

David Sinclair return'd to us late at night, a little before we were goeing to bed. After hearing his report, and reading the letter, we aſkt him, Where it was thought the ennemie was when he left Montroſs? He ſaid, It was believed their avant-guard was not very far from that place when he left it; and everie bodie ſaid they were cloſe in the rear of our's in their marche north. I told my Lord Huntlie, I did not underſtand Cook's goeing ſo far out of his road, and the looſeing ſo many days when he had not one minute to looſe; and his goeing with Boyn towards the ſea coaſt lookt not a little ſuſpicious, whoſe eſtate, before he had ſold it, lay on that coaſt, and no man more fit to make theſe officers eſcapes, ſince he knew all the ports; and what confirmed me more of it was, their keeping up all meſſengers and intelligence from us, and at the laſt would have carried Mr Sinclair alonge with them. Next morning Huntley receaved a letter from a gentleman, who was too wiſe to dip in our affairs, which unriddled the whole, telling of the King, my Lords Mar, Drummond, and Melford's being ſail'd from Montroſs, where they imbarkt late on Saturday's night.

About eleven of the clock that forenoon, there were above the hundred gentlemen of our routed armie, who had ridd all that night, and came to Caſtle Gordon and the village near to it, not one of them knowing where to turn themſelves. I doe confeſs I had, from my firſt goeing north, marked out the route I was to take, and propoſed to myſelf the goeing ſtreight over the Murray Frith to Caithneſs, and from that to the Orkneys, where I hoped to ſkulk till I got ſome ſhip to waft me over to ſome forraigne ſhore. But at that time I begun to waver: the thoughts of my Countrie's ruine rackt me, and the ſhame of deſerting it overwhelmed me, and I loſt all that reaſon by which I foretold its ruine, when

I ſaw its ruine. Some times I wiſht, and at other times I thought that ſo many people, if they were reallie as deſperate as they appear'd ſome few days before, might at leaſt doe ſomething to ſave their honours, if not their lives, which now were not worth regarding, if a handſome opportunitie of getting rid of that burthen preſented itſelf. For my part, when I thought of the diſgrace and miſerie our follie had brought upon us, and the pain and contempt we were to be expoſed to in forraigne countries, I could not perſuade myſelf that death in ſuch a manner, and in theſe circumſtances, did not ſeem rather a preſent, then robbing us of our lives, which muſt be a laſting ſtate of torment when ſunk under the weight of the coole reflections on our oun paſt madneſs; and whoever will repreſent to himſelf the numbers of different paſſions that croude upon a man in the like occaſions, then which nothing can raiſe more frightfull objects, muſt ſay with me, that ther's few men on earth, who at all think, but fall naturallie into ſuch reſolutions, for, as it's the ſituation or the light which changes and makes the diffformitie or beautie of objects, ſo it's the ſituation and light that changes the reaſoning of men. But alaſs! our follie had been ſo great that it did not depend of us, haveing, as it were, induſtriouſlie put it out of our pouer; we neither had armes, pouder, monie, nor any corner of a countrie to keep together and ſubſiſt in, ſo as to make the leaſt countenance. When I thought of that, and the curſe of diviſions and irregularitie Mar had left amongſt us, by his odious and injurious precautions to ſave his life and caracter, my hopes and whole ſcheme fell in a minute, houever ſtronglie ſupported by my paſſions, which it's my miſfortune to have in as great number, and no leſs violent and firm as the moſt of men. Our oun imprudence had brought upon us all the calamities that fortune does to others, when it abandonns them; we found obſtackles where few or none ever wanted facilities; I mean ſelling our lives even at ane under rate, or a poſſibilitie of dying honourablie. Thoſe who came to us had confuſion and abjection of ſpirit draun in their faces with the ſtrongeſt lines, and told us ſo much, by being capable of telling ſo little of the ſituation they left the great bodie in, that not one knew what had become of his intimateſt friend or neareſt relation, ſo that it was a doubt if there were ten men together; and gave us to know, that fear had painted the perſpective of

their miffortunes no leſs terrible to all than they reallie were. I ſoon returned to my firſt reſolution of following the route I had projected, and I propoſed it to moſt who I ſpoke with, who were all undetermin'd.

At laſt I was reſolved to looſe no time, and get on horſeback after dinner, and ride till I had ſecured a boat, for people came hourlie throngeing upon us, and I ſuſpected ſome might at laſt break the ice, and take that road, and then, as in all ſuch caſes, the whole would follow, and no boats would be left; and above all, wanted to be out of the confuſion and hurrie. I had likwiſe reaſon to think that my Lord Southerland might ſend and ſeize thoſe boats at the Brough, and cut off by that means all retreat, except to the Highlands, where it was not proper for me to goe, haveing been ſo traduced to thoſe wild people, who it was impoſſible to undeceave. I remember, while ſome of us were together, ſpeakeing about our eſcapeing, for all thought of nothing elſe, tho' they could not reſolve what way, Collonell Hay, brother-in-law to Mar, came to us, who I have formerlie mention'd as Gouvernour of Pearth, ſince as Ambaſſadour to France, and on his return, for his good ſervices done there, advanced to be a Brigadeer and Maſter of Horſe to the King; the diſcourſe happneing to roule on my Lord Mar, everie bodie was condemning him as the worſt of men, I ſaid, Tho' he deſerved to be worſe ſpoke of than we could find words to expreſs, yet it was hard to grate Collonell Hay's ears with ſo harſh a ſubject, and ungenerous to take that advantage, ſince Hay ſuffer'd alonge with us. He anſuer'd, The worſe we ſpoke of that villain the more we'd oblidge him, and we could not wonder at it, if we knew how he had treated him; and fell of weeping aloud like a child; but ſaid, he had one comfort left, which was, Mar muſt die in a ditch, for he did not believe he could be receaved any where, and muſt ſtarve, ſince lyes could carrie him no further; for no mortall could be brought to pitie him, and it was impoſſible he muſt not be the abhorrence of mankind. My old prophetick ſpirit ſtill remained, and I aſſured the Collonell he'd gaine on the King by his cunning, and the aſſiſtance of thoſe who went alonge with him, who'd witneſs for him, and he for them; and whoever followed and eſcaped, ſeeing him in the leaſt eſtabliſht in favour, would confirm all the miracles he had done, and find it their intereſt to doe ſo.

About dinner-time the Earle of Kintore, Lord Rollo, and others, arrived while we were at dinner. All were extreamlie dumpiſh and melancolie. I undertook to divert the companie and make them merrie. I ſucceeded better then I could [have] expected, and made them all laugh, except Kintore, who, looking to me, applied the Scots proverb, "They may laugh who wins." I anſuer'd, A little time would ſhew his Lordſhip that I had no more to expect then he, and I believed leſs. I hoped his Lordſhip thought better of me than think that I could laugh at the miſerie of my countriemen, ſuppoſeing I were out of danger; I own'd I was the moſt uneaſie of my countriemen, while the Countrie could [have] been ſaved, and while they flattered themſelves with vain hopes; but now that they had done their worſt, it did not require my unneceſſarie concern any more: I had longe ſuffer'd what they had onlie ſuffer'd for three four days, and I thought it allowable to keep up my ſpirits as longe as I could; which I wiſh villanous lying tongues had permitted me to doe ſince. God is my witneſs I had no laughing at heart; nor can I give a reaſon for it, more then for others ſinging when they are angrie, which often enough happens, or that it is produced by an exceſs of deſpair. I was aſkt by many, What I thought adviſeable to doe? as if I had knoun more then they, I believe becauſe I had forſeen their ruine. I told them the route I was to take, and ſaid, He muſt know very much who could give advice on ſuch ane occaſion. I took compaſſion on Collonell Hay and encouraged him to goe alonge, which ſeem'd then no ſmall favour done him. Before I mounted, I ſpoke to Generall Eckline, and aſkt him, How he deſigned to diſpoſe of himſelf? He ſaid, He did not know; he was laying his account with being takne; he could not goe to the hills, a ſtrain haveing made him incapable of walking. I propoſed to him to take his fate with me, and I'd render him all the little ſervices depended of me.

When we were on the wing, a letter came to my Lord Huntlie from Glengarie, who was marcheing northwards with a bodie of Highlandmen, under the command of Generall Gordon. I did not ſee the letter; but it was deſireing of my Lord Huntlie, as he was pleaſed to tell me, to take the command of all upon him. If I remember right, Huntlie anſuer'd, That while there was any probabilitie of doeing for them or

the Countrie, they'd take none of his advice; but now that things were deſperate, and Mar had deſerted, they threw themſelves upon him, when it was impoſſible for them to keep together; and deſired of them to doe what they could for themſelves, for he ſaw no way to redreſs affairs. Before, and after he had wrote this letter, he propoſed to me to ſtay with him; and even when I had mounted on horſeback, haveing done me the juſtice to think I was the onlie [perſon] who had told him the truth, and the onlie man of ſinceritie he had met with in all the courſe of our affair; for the thing was ſo plain, I can't perſuade myſelf that moſt did not ſee as far as I. His Lordſhip ſeem'd ſtill undetermined how to diſpoſe of himſelf; to make reſiſtance without pouder and armes was in vain; to ſurrender himſelf appear'd immediate ruine; to goe out of the countrie was the loſs of a good eſtate, and the ruine of a noble and great family. I told him, If he could think that a bodie could keep together, I ſhould not heſitate longe, and would take my chance with him; otherwiſe I'd make my eſcape while it was to be made; for I was reſolved not to deliver myſelf up, haveing no eſtate to ſave by it, and none to looſe by goeing away. Were I in his caſe, I'd looſe life and eſtate at once, tho' I was not to adviſe him to be raſh in delivering himſelf up, for it was likelie that thoſe who fell firſt in the hands of the Gouvernment would be the ſacriefices, for there was no doubt exemples would be made, and eſpeciallie in the beginning, till they were glutted. But if I did not get off the way I propoſed, I needed not think of hideing in the Highlands, when, by Mar's particular care, they had got ſo bad ane impreſſion of me, that I was ſure to be murder'd; otherwiſe I ſhould not be one of the firſt to follow his ſcandalous exemple of deſerting my Countrie. And Seaton of Touch, who was there with us, had told me that Glengarie had diſcouraged thoſe of the Low Countries who ſpoke to him from takeing that courſe.

If the joy of the King's comeing was very great, yet it was ſhort-lived, and his return ſtruck all with no leſs conſternation; we were made believe that he was to doe all, ſo that we needed care for nothing; and he was made believe that we'd doe all, and needed take care of nothing, otherwiſe it's impoſſible he could come to us at that time, or at leaſt in the manner he did, without any one thing neceſſarie, as if his preſence, which

at all times muſt have been of great uſe, but much more in the beginning, had been all we wanted. Our meeting ſoon ſerved onlie to convince both there was more requiſite, and to make Mar's eſcape, who, while I'm makeing my own, I ſhall leave in his way to France, for all we heard at that time was very undiſtinctt. We travell'd all that night, and got next morning to the Brough, a ſmall village of fiſher cottages on the Murray Frith, where we found my Lord Duffus reſideing; he had got that length in his way to raiſe thoſe of Orkney and Caithneſs, as he pretended. We took boat, as a good many more who came in to the village after us, and left his Lordſhip there, who could not think of leaveing the place, ſo good a patriote he was, ſo longe as brandie or ſuggar was left, for he deſired no other ingredients to make his boule. We paſſed the Murray Frith, and landed in Caithneſs in five or ſix hours, and, with others who folloued, made our way through Caithneſs in tuo days. We met together, thirtie ſtronge, at a point called Ham, a place on the Paintland Frith, oppoſite to the Orkneys. We found onlie tuo boats in that place, the one which could tranſport tuentie-five men, and the other, of four oars, onlie five. The frightfull accounts we had heard of that paſſage, and the many terrible tydes in it, made everie bodie deſire to be in the great boat. I chooſed the little one to be out of noiſe, and Eckline, Coll. Hay, and Sir George Sinclair, went with me. This Frith, about fifteen miles over, was not repreſented to us ſo bad as we found it; the rouers themſelves went out with horrour in their countenances;[1] few men, who have not made ſeafeireing their trade, have been more accuſtomed to it than I, or are leſs frightned with the appearances of the danger of it, but I never ſaw anything ſo terriblie ſurpriſeing as the goeing out of that creek. When I begun to think coole, the circumſtances, and condition we were in, put me in mind of a retreat in Virgil not unlike to ours:

> Dextrum Scylla latus, lævum implacata Charybdis
> Obsidet, atque imo barathri ter gurgite vastos
> Sorbet in abruptum fluctus, rursusque sub auras
> Erigit alternos, et sidera verberat unda. (Virgil. Æneid. iii.)

[1] The terrors of the Pentland Firth are proverbial. The sailors always said their prayers before undertaking the passage.

After paſſing that ſea, and landing in the Orkneys, we made no longer ſtop than carrieing our boat, with the ſame hands were in it, over a neck of land, and ſet to ſea again, ſtreight for Kirkwall, a royall burrough on the mainland; after being ſome time in a longe canall we came into a large ſea which is called the Scapaflow, wider then the Paintland Frith, and tho' not ſo dangerous, yet we were caught there in a ſtorm, and with difficultie enough, our men being ſpent with rowing, we gain'd before night a creek on the mainland, the Iſland we deſigned for; and that with our laſt efforts; the coaſt all alonge being rockie, and as perpendicular as a wall. We frighten'd away the ſeals, who ſeem'd the onlie inhabitants of that ſolitude.

> Egressi optata potiuntur Troës arena,
> Et sale tabentis artus in litore ponunt. (Virgil. Æneid. i.)

No ſooner we were landed then a hurricane aroſe, which muſt certainlie [have] ſent us to the bottom. Next difficultie was how to know what place in the world we were in, for our fiſhermen ſeem'd to know no more then we, and ſcarce could tell us the name of the Iſland, and not haveing ane hour's day-light, we fear'd lying on the ſtrand that night. I was detacht to the nixt riſeing ground, and with difficultie diſcover'd a cabbin at a good diſtance, in a countrie which was all moor, and, tho' I imagin'd it to be a hut for a ſhepherd in the ſummer time, ſeeing no other, went to it, and found a numerous familie lived in it. On my creeping in, the whole ſuarme were ſtruck with amazement, and it was ſome time before I could encourage my landlord to anſuer my queſtions, which were, How far we were from Kirkwall, and if he had ſuch things as horſes? After I had perſuaded him I was no beaſt of prey, he ſaid, That we were three miles from the toun; but would not confeſs he had horſes till I offer'd him what monie he pleaſed, and aſkt a groat, which I was oblidged to pay him beforehand, the onlie expedient to perſuade him to bring his horſes from the hill; his demand being ſo extravagant, he was in fear I ſhould not ſtood to my bargain. The others, after carrieing the boat half-way up a ſmall hill, according to the directions of one who was poſted to obſerve what way I went, folloued, carrieing their baggage, and in ſome time we mounted Eckline on a ſtrange ſpecies of a ſhort legged,

longe-backt, low-bellied, big-headed animal, which the fellow called a horſe; haveing ſaddled him with a wiſp of ſtraw, and made ſtirrups and bridle of the ſame, we put our baggage on the other, and ſo begun our proceſſion towards the capitall, in great doubts what to make of thoſe longe-bodied low creatures in our equipage, which furroued the ground with their noſes, and ſeem'd to creep through the heath, and which I was rather inclined to believe was a large ſort of reptile than what they were called. Tho' we were haraſſed and fatigued with all the evills that could happen both to bodie and mind, we could not hinder ourſelves to laugh at ſo comicall a figure as we made. Thus we enter'd the citie, where, to its honour, it muſt be own'd, we got as good entertainment as could be got in moſt places; for there was nothing wanting, nor did it reliſh the worſe when we reflected

> Vos et Scyllæam rabiem penitusque sonantis
> Accestis scopulos: vos et Cyclopia saxa
> Experti. (Virgil. Æneid. i.)

The reſt of our unluckie companions, who ſet out from Caithneſs with us, being in a large boat, could not carrie it over that neck of land I mention'd, and looſed time in hireing ſmall boats to carrie them further; their flotilla was overtakne by the ſame ſtorm, and diſperſed, and they forced to take ſhelter in different iſlands, from whence a ſtorie roaſe that ſeveralls were drounded, which we believed of them, as they did of us. To add to my miſſortunes I had occaſion to entertain myſelf at Kirkwall with the melancolie proſpect of the ruines of ane old caſtle, the ſeat of the old Earles of Orkney, my anceſtours, and with a more melancolie reflection of ſo great and noble ane eſtate as the Orkneys and Shetland Iſles being takne from one of them for forfaultrie, by James the Third, after his brother Alexander, Duke of Albanie, had married a daughter of my familie, and for protecting and defending the ſame Alexander againſt the King, who was to kill him, as he had done his youngeſt brother the Earle of Mar; and for which, after the forfaultrie, he gratefully divorced my forfaulted anceſtor's ſiſter. Tho' I can't perſuade myſelf he had any miſalliance to plead againſt a familie in whoſe veins the blood of Robert Bruce run as freſh as in his oun; for their title to the Croun was by a

daughter of David Bruce, ſon to Robert, and our allieance was by marrieing a grandchild of the ſame Robert Bruce, and daughter to the ſiſter of the ſame David, out of the familie of Douglas, which at that time did not much ſullie the blood no more then my anceſtours, haveing not longe before the honour of marrieing a daughter of the King of Denmark's, who was named Florentine, and has left in that toun of Kirkwall a noble monument of the grandeur of the times, the fineſt church ever I ſaw intire in Scotland. I then had no ſmall reaſon to think, in that unhappie ſtate, that many not inconſiderable ſervices render'd ſince to the Royall Familie for theſe many years bygone, on all occaſions when they ſtood moſt in need of friends, which they have very often thought themſelves oblidged to acknowledge by letters yet extant, and in a ſtile more like friends than Souveraignes: Our attachement to them, without any other thanks, far leſs requittall, haveing brought upon us conſiderable loſſes, and, amongſt others, that of our all in Cromwell's time; and when left in that condition, without the leaſt relief except what we found in our oun virtue, my father was the onlie man of the Scots Nation who had courage enough to proteſt in Parlieament againſt King William's title to the Throne, which was loſt, God knous how, at a time when the loſſes in the cauſe of the Royall Familie, and their uſuall gratitude, had ſcarce left him bread to maintain a numerous familie of eleven children who ſoon after ſprung up upon him; in ſpite of all which he had honourablie perſiſted in his principle: I ſay, theſe things conſider'd, and after being treated as I was, and in that unluckie ſtate when objects appear to men in true lights, as at the hour of death, could I be blamed for makeing ſome bitter reflections to myſelf, and laughing at the extravagance and unaccountable humors of men, and the ſingularitie of my own caſe? when I ought to [have] knoun the greateſt crime I or my familie could have committed was perſevereing, to our oun deſtruction, in ſerving the Royall Familie faithfullie, tho' obſtinatelie, after ſo great a ſhare of depreſſion, and they had been pleaſed to doom me and my familie to ſtarve; this, without other aggravateing circumſtances, which I could mention, was too much to make anie man hange himſelf.

Nunc animis opus, Æncа, nunc pectore firmo. (Virgil. Æneid. vi.)

I vow to God I am not ſenſible as yet, nor was I then, of any other crime except this of my originell ſin; for I hope it is not that of my haveing on all occaſions profeſſed ane unbounded zeale to my poor Countrie, which I defie Mar and the Devill, and both their aide-de-camps and agents, to make out that I have not keept ſtricktlie up to in all the courſe of my life. My reader may chooſe either of thoſe reaſons, as he pleaſes. Younge Plinie ſays, "It's rare that a Prince thinks himſelf oblidged, or for him to regarde that man to whom he thinks he is." Philip of Commines, lib. iii, chap. 12, mentions that Louis the Eleventh ſaid, "It was ſurer for a Courtier to receave ſome great recompence from his Prince for a ſmall piece of ſervice, than in rendring him ſo great ſervices that he muſt think himſelf oblidged to him; becauſe Princes love thoſe naturallie who are oblidged to them, more than thoſe who they are oblidged to." "Nam beneficia eo uſque læta ſunt, dum videntur exſolvi poſſe: ubi multum antevenere, pro gratia odium redditur." (Tacit. Annal. iv, 18.) I don't doubt that it will be found that all the authors who have touched that ſubject have ſaid the ſame; for the greateſt part, if not all, who have ſerved Princes, fairlie and honeſtlie, have found their ſervices and ſuffrances not onlie neglected, but that Princes have ſeem'd to wiſh the extirpation of all ſuch, if they did not effectuate it, that none might live to reproache them; or, if out of a greater ſhare of good nature, they abandon'd them in their miſfortunes to Providence, and to the oppreſſion and contempt of thoſe who they had made ennemies in their quarrell, which has been the ſlie pollitick of our Princes, they had it to ſay, they did not know them; their miſeries haveing render'd them ſo unlike to their anceſtours, ſo that it's not poſſible for them to diſtinguiſh them in the croud; while thoſe who have raiſed themſelves at their expence, have made themſelves knoun to them effectuallie, and carreſſed by them, whenever thoſe ſtubborn and obſtinate ſubjects have been pleaſed, or thought it anſuer'd their ends, to accept of their civilities; after they had done the Royall Familie and their Countrie all the injuries in their pouer, they always were, and will be, honoured and acknowledged by them, for ane encouragement to virtue. Houever, I queſtion very much, if the laws of nature and nations be conſider'd, whatever they may doe as to crimes committed againſt themſelves, whither it be in their pouer

to forgive crimes committed againſt the Countrie, eſpeciallie when theſe crimes have directlie tended to the ſubverſion, and have been ſucceeded by the actuall overthrow of the laws and liberties of the Countrie, and bribes given and receaved, to the conviction of all mankind. If Princes have no regarde to the laws of Nations, in my way of thinking it may very much ſhake their oun right, and I don't know to whome the exemple made of Balliol gives the title. I know this digreſſion won't be pleaſant to a great many, nor is what I ſay leſs true becauſe it's old, or the reflections leſs juſt becauſe I have been groſſlie injured and the reſentment freſh, and that men's miſfortunes are ſeldom leſſned by themſelves, and as ſeldom make impreſſion on others, no more than dreams; yet I may tell the truth, which, tho' often ſeen and felt, is very rare to hear, becauſe of the different hopes and fears men are poſſeſt with; of which I am at preſent prittie free.

I wiſh from my ſoule that God, in His Providence, had created us with ſuch a degree of knouledge as could onlie make us ſubſervient to the will of Princes, and that there had been no other end of our creation; or, if it muſt have been too much trouble to them, even in that caſe, to drive us, like ſo many cattle, that He had been pleaſed to put ſome diſtinguiſhing marks of greater knouledge and authoritie on ſome families about them, to help them to drive the great herd; we'd then be very eaſie, without any ſhare of reaſon, and theſe paſſions of ambition, glorie, vanitie, love, revenge, and the like, which diſpoſes the ſoule to covet things that Nature tells us are uſefull, and to perſiſt in that will. For there would be no need of thoſe agitations of ſpirits which is neceſſarie to diſpoſe the bodie to mouvements which might ſerve to the execution of the deſignes of our maſter, when a good baton or goad could doe it; and ſave him the trouble of proſtituteing reaſon, and makeing uſe of it for or againſt us at everie turn; when we'd not have the leaſt notion of maxims of honour or love to Countrie, and thoſe of right and wronge, which ſerve now as ſo many nooſes to catch us in, and form in us ſo many melancolie reflections afterwards. This muſt have made the taſk of Princes very pleaſant, and us happie; their will being our onlie dutie, we'd had no more to anſuer for, either before God or man, or to ourſelves; they haveing a pouer of diſ-

poſeing of us, as men doe at preſent of their ſheep, and that unaccountable ſenſible inſenſibilitie ſo often requir'd of us, I mean that painfull virtue of thanking them for all their gracious injuſtices done us, would be ſo far from diſquieting us or them, that there would be no ſuch thing. But, ſince the Almightie has formed us as we are, haveing ſometimes ane equal knouledge, and ſometimes ſuperiour to theirs, the management of which talents we muſt account for to Him who made us, to our Countrie, and, in ſome ſmall meaſure, to our families and ſelves. If we are to be alloued any internall ſatiſfaction, can a man be blamed for complaineing when unjuſtlie robbed of his reputation and honour, which ought to be dearer to him than his life; becauſe it renders him intirelie uſeleſs to the ſocietie he is in, certainlie the great deſigne of life, and by it deprives him of the ſolideſt ſatiſfaction of life, with the intention of makeing him a ſcarecrow to all honeſt men, and make place for villains to impoſe on the ignorant? or am I then to diſſemble my torments to encourage Princes to treat men of honour like beaſts, without feeling of thoſe things? let them doe it who pleaſes, I won't betray the reſt of mankind nor myſelf. Is it too much for them to know they doe injuſtices when we ſuffer? I would not have it thought that I believe theſe are always the effects of Princes' oun diſpoſitions, but of thoſe about them, who muſt gaine and ſupport themſelves in their favour by indirect and unfair means; nor doe I doubt that they have the ſame good qualities with other men, and onlie differ from them in being almoſt always, and in all places, haraſſed and haunted with theſe vermine about them, whoſe buſſieneſs and intereſt it is to prejudice them againſt honeſt men.

But it's no great matter whither the diſpoſition be naturall or acquired, if we muſt always ſuffer; this conſideration does not much alleviate the pain, even to thoſe who are born with the feueſt and weakeſt paſſions. I don't ſay this becauſe I have been baulkt of any expectation of private advantage, of which my conduct can ſcarcelie be ſuſpected, for that I could [have] attained to with the worthleſeſt, and by following the croude. I took another route much more difficult, where I could propoſe nothing but the inward ſatiſfaction of ſerveing my Countrie and the King onlie, ſo far as I was convinced it was conſiſtant with the good of my Countrie; and where

I ſaw their intereſts were inconſiſtant, at leaſt as they were managed, I hope none will diſpute my haveing a priviledge to diſſent, and the rather that the conduct was directlie oppoſite to both the intereſt of the Countrie and King, who I was in dutie oblidged to ſerve as the firſt or great member of the State or Countrie, and whoſe obligations to ſerve it are, if poſſible, greater and more indiſpenſible as mine, the truſt repoſed in him being ſo much greater. "Equidem ego ſic apud animum meum ſtatuo: cuicumque in ſua civitate amplior, illuſtriorque locus, quam aliis eſt, ei magnam curam [eſſe] reipublicæ: nam cæteris, ſalva urbe, tantummodo libertas tuta eſt." (Salluſt.) When I hear the intereſt of a King ſpoke of, I ſuppoſe it a ſynonimus term for that of the Countrie, or a figurative expreſſion where a part is underſtood for the whole; the very deſigne of his title, his honour, glorie, and eaſe, conſiſting onlie in its happieneſs; but when I hear and ſee the name of a King made uſe of to ſerve directlie to ruine a Countrie, and trap well-meaning people, I muſt beg pardon to think that rogues have got the better of a King, and, for their oun private ends, betray both Countrie and King, which does not ſo rarelie happen that we muſt not believe our oun ſenſes. This ſiſtem of mine diſcovers itſelf, and leaves me a right to complain where my Countrie has been ruin'd, and my reputation injured, which I ought not to outlive, if I could not ſufficientlie vindicate: It's not my fault if my treatment carries alonge with it ſo great a diſcouragement that it may teach others how vain and fooliſh all attempts are to ſerve men with candour againſt themſelves, when they have a mind to be cheated; and when thoſe who, after riſqueing their all in doeing ſo, can't propoſe to themſelves either the true end, which is the ſatiſfaction of doeing good, or ſo much as juſtice to be done their caracter, the motives of men of honour; and, tho' a maigre reward, are not onlie envied of it, but have in place of it to expect enmitie, infamie, and calumnie; and leaves them, to conclude with Brutus, in deſpair, "O miſera virtus! eras ne fabula? te colui ut rem, ſed nomen inane es."

We were no ſooner in Kirkwall then we thought ourſelves prittie ſafe, and not longe before ſome few joyn'd us. The great fear being over, moſt of my fellow-travellers changed their note: Coll. Hay, not being able to hear the leaſt wronge thing of his again beloved brother-in-law, my Lord

Mar, begun to put a favourable conſtruction on all his actions to thoſe who he had occaſion to ſee in that countrie. For my oun part, I, without the leaſt deſigne or deſire to pleaſe or diſpleaſe, continued to ſay the ſame I had always thought and ſaid of him, and took freedom enough in contradicting the Collonell when I thought him out of the way, which was always, ſo that I perceaved I was ſo unluckie as to looſe his favour, not being able to help himſelf otherwiſe then by fretting. I uſed to aſk him, What change he had found in Mar's caracter betuixt Caſtle Gordon and the Orkneys, and in which of thoſe places he ought to be believed? But this was not his caſe particularlie, but that of the whole; which circumſtance of humain life is very well expreſt by Lucretius:

> Quo magis in dubiis hominem spectare periclis
> Convenit, advorsisque [in] rebus noscere, quid sit.
> Nam veræ voces tum demum pectore ab imo
> Eliciuntur; et eripitur persona, manet res.

I found the ſame pains had been takne to give thoſe of Orkney as bad ane impreſſion of me as had been done in Caithneſs, for they believed I had been ſent up priſonner to Pearth; and was not wanting to ſpeak to Pitcairne about it, Duffus his Aide-de-Camp, who I found there. He denied the haveing any hand in it, and ſaid it had come from Fercharſon. After being three or four days there, Duffus arrived, with a crew he had pickt up on the road, about two hours before we were to leave that place; for no ſhips being to be got in that part of the iſland, we were to goe to Stromneſs, a fine harbour, tuelve miles diſtant, where we were informed there were ſeveralls of our folks, and four ſmall ſhips, any of which would doe our buſſieneſs, and imagin'd the neus of ſo manie of us being in the iſlands about, would make them goe to ſea, or change ports, for fear we ſhould force them to ſaile with us; beſides, it was more than probable that of the number of men-of-war which were in the Murray Frith, ſome might be ſent our way, which would not a little diſconcerted us. For it depended of us to be takne, now that we were above a hundred in the iſlands; and had we got together, (which I always propoſed, but nobodie inclined to doe, and were in that, as in all other occaſions, themſelves,) tuo

of theſe men-of-war could not have landed as many men as could have done our work, we had ſo much at ſtake; and thoſe with us were tolerablie well armed, and we could [have] ſupplied our wants in the iſlands; but it being ſtill more our buſſieneſs to get out of that trouble, I preſſed hard to goe to Stromneſs and ſecure ſome of thoſe ſhips, which were tuelve miles from thence. Before we went off it was propoſed to inform Duffus, and thoſe with him, in caſe they had a mind to take the ſame courſe; but credite was ſo freſh, and brandie ſo plentie, that his Lordſhip ſaid he had a mind to take another road; by which, tho' perhaps he meant Sueden, we conſtructed, a ſhort walk from one tavern, or one boule of punch, to another. While we were together, one Mr Nairne, who had been a half-pay Liutennant, a little fellow, whoſe buſſieneſs was ſnarleing in everie coffe-tent in the armie in Flanders, and now come alonge with Duffus, ſaid there were ſome there who need not take ſo much pains to make their eſcape, ſince he believed them in no danger. I took that to me, and ſaid, If he meant me, he was a damned raſcall. No replie being made, it reſted there, and we went ſtreight off.

Here I muſt ſay, horſes being hard to be got, Sir George Sinclair and I, provided we got horſes for General Eckline and Collonell Hay, undertook to make our journey on foot; ſuch compaſſion had I of Hay, tho' of ſo little uſe to us in our project, that he was ane impediment. But after ſetting out, a ladie, who had more regarde for us than we had for ourſelves, ſent horſes after us, of a better ſort than thoſe animalls who were the naturall product of the iſlands; which put us upon leaving our companions with the ſervants and little baggage, and goeing forward with all expedition to Stromneſs, to perſuade thoſe of our people there to ſeiſe one of thoſe ſhips that very night; but to no purpoſe; for tho' they had got that length, were not determined what courſe to take; and it appear'd as impertinent to propoſe to them to ſeiſe a ſhip as it would been to deſire of them to ſet ſaile that minute to the Eaſt Indies. I obbraided them for ſuch indolence to no purpoſe, and was forced to waite the others' comeing up, which was not till next morning; for tuo were not capable to take a ſhip at a good diſtance from land. It was our good luck that the wind blew

freſh into that little bay or harbour, ſo that the ſhips could not get out, otherwiſe I found they had takne the alarme, and all of them had ſheer'd off; tho' we dreaded, at ſame time, that wind's bringing up the men-of-war upon us from of[f] the Murray Frith.

Next morning Eckline and Hay joyn'd us, with our ſervants; but the wind was ſo high there was no comeing at the ſhip; for then we were ſtronge enough to ſeiſe a ſhip ourſelves; and the ſeven or eight we found in that toun, we judged would at leaſt help to keep the toun in awe, for it was prittie populous, and we did not know how they were inclined; and, for that reaſon, took what pouder they had, bore it out with a high hand, laid hold of tuo Juſtices of Peace, to prevent their moveing, and, in a word, truſted more to the name of a number of our people's being in the iſlands, whom we gave out were tuice as manie as reallie they were, than to ourſelves; and in this poſture continued tuo nights, till the wind fell. By this time thoſe who we met there were at laſt half determin'd to goe alonge with us; and to avoide diſorder in the toun, ſeven of us took a boat in the night, when all were in bed, of which number was my friend Coll. Hay, for he could want reſt, and, without the leaſt trouble, ſeiſed the biggeſt ſhip, of 60 tun, loaded with beef, very fit for our purpoſe; all this I mention more particularly to ſhew how undetermined ſome were, and how uncapable others to help themſelves. No ſooner it was reported in the countrie we had ſeiſed a ſhip, then a part of Duffus' crew deſerted him, after ſome nights' heartie drinking; and tho' they had refuſed to goe alonge with us at firſt, came now to us, a day before we were to ſaile, and haveing no time to provide for themſelves, pretended they'd goe with us, and were to take their hazard of the little bread, bear, and water, which we had calculated onlie for ourſelves. Collonell Hay fell in with them, becauſe they called him Brigadeer; when I told them plainlie, They might goe if they would, but if they had not their proviſions readie, we'd ſaile with the firſt faire wind, and not ſtay one minute for them who had ſo much neglected themſelves; and if they went without proviſions, I ſhould take my hazard of their ſhareing with us; nor was I ſo plaine till I heard Mr Nairne talk big, as if he had a mind to force every thing; thinking to impoſe,

becauſe their partie was as ſtrong as ours. That night another of their partie, one Mr Freebairn, a printer, haveing got himſelf drunk, inclined to be impertinent; it ſeems it was to be a merite; but on my ſpeakeing to him next morning, when coole, he thought convenient to beg pardon. I told this to Seatoun of Touch, who propoſed the goeing aboard, with our ſervants, and allow none of them to ſet a foot in that ſhip; which, with our ſervants, and others who would gone alonge, we could eaſilie have done, being maſters of pouder, and better armed then they; but I was averſe from it till we ſaw a great neceſſitie, haveing more compaſſion on them than they had of themſelves. Breco, Grahame, and others, adviſed me not to goe alonge with them; but Breco more plainlie told me I'd fall in quarrells, becauſe he had heard them threaten about me; and ſome of them haveing been officers of the armie, and others pretending to be madd, they ſeem'd dangerous; which I was not moved with, believing myſelf as dangerous as any, and ſhould never forgiven myſelf if I had been capable of ſhunning any of them. Yea, theſe gentlemen had bragged in Caithneſs how they'd uſe me when they met me, and, as I have been ſince told, ſome of the gentlemen of that countrie were ſo kind as to ſend to advertice of it, but I was alreadie gone from the Orkneys. We oblidged ane Orkney pilote, who knew the Weſt Seas, to goe alonge with us, many being at firſt inclined to goe that way, tho' we were not determin'd what courſe to ſteer, even after the wind calmed, and turned fair enough to get out of the harbour, yea, after we were all on board; for then no ſmall part wanted to goe to ſhore again, to take that night reſt. For my part, I ſaid, They might goe out who pleaſed, but I'd ſtay in the ſhip, and if anie would ſtay with me the ſhip ſhould poſitivelie ſaile; tho' the ſkipper pretended he run a riſque in goeing out; but the fellow, ſeeing our diviſions and irreſolution, deſignedlie improved them, and was in expectation hourlie of the men-of-war's comeing up to relieve him. However, ſome being paſſive, and others inclineing to be gone, my poſſitiveneſs determined them, ſo that, ane hour after, we went out to a ſafe road, where the pilote told me, He was afraid of our meeting the men-of-war next morning. Nor were we at that time as yet determined what courſe to take; the one part being for one route, and another for a different, and

ſome for a third route, and ſome for none at all till the weather was more ſettled; for my part I was indifferent what courſe they'd ſteer, provided they went any way where I could hope to get out of that hell, tho' I inclined, as the ſafeſt courſe, to goe by the back of Ireland. It was objected that the voyage would be too tedious, eſpeciallie in that ſeaſon of the year, in ſo bad a ſhip; and that our bread and drink, nor our water and oate meale, would not hold out, for there was not caſk enough to be got in the place for fortie-five perſons on board. As to the laſt objection, I anſuer'd, We might coaſt it, or at leaſt were to hope we ſhould not be drove ſo far off the ſhore [but] that in a feu days we could fall in with ſome of the Scots Iſles, or with ſome part of Ireland, and if we could not buy, were ſtronge enough to force proviſions anywhere.

The greateſt part inclineing for Calais or the coaſt of France, I eaſilie yielded, the wind being faire, tho' I repreſented to them the danger of falling in with men-of-war cruiſeing in the Channell, or the runners which muſt been ſent in purſuite of the ſhip the King went in, and might be waiteing on the catch for others who, they might expect reaſonablie, would make their retreat that way; and our ſhip being heavie loadned, and but a bad ſailor, I fear'd the worſt. But our French pilote, who was the ſame who had the care of that ſhip loſt at St Andreus, and folloued us to Orkeney, haveing a view of his own, undertook to carrie us through the Flemiſh banks; which he denied afterwards. So at laſt we reſolved for Calais, or that coaſt of France; and to get rid of the men-of-war on the Scots coaſt, ſailed eighteen leagues to the northward, ſome continueing to ſpeak of Norway: for it was not poſſible to pleaſe all, everie one belching out what his follie dictated.

> Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum,
> Tendimus in Latium: sedes ubi fata quietas
> Ostendunt. (Virg. Æneid, i, 204-206.)

And, as may be ſeen by the ſequell, we ſtill more unſtable as the winds,

not onlie "Incerti quo fata ferant, ubi ſiſtere detur," (Virg. Æneid, iii, 7); but, as we had begun our affair, ſo this part of us were to end it, "in tam diverſa magiſter, ventus, et unda trahunt."

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